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Honecker Receives Pact Military Council Members

LD2305134689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1319 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, chairman of the GDR Council of State, and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council, this afternoon received members of the Military Council of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, which has been holding a regular session in the GDR capital since yesterday.

In the headquarters of the Council of State, Erich Honecker welcomed Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces, who is chairing the session, as well as the members of the Military Council. Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, and Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, as well as other personalities were present.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR Council of State, and chairman of the National Defense Council, today at the State Council received Army Gen Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and the members of the Military Council, who are in the GDR for a scheduled meeting.

The commander in chief informed the general secretary of the course of the Military Council session, which has taken place entirely in the spirit of socialist peace initiatives. Questions related to the further implementation of the defense doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states have played an important role. They have, for example, discussed how the units could be given an even stricter defense structure and combat training could be further perfected under these conditions. Army Gen Lushev stressed that the Military Council will continue to direct its a efforts at ensuring that the Joint Armed Forces are at all times in a position to reliably safeguard peace and socialism.

Erich Honecker expressed to the Military Council the high regard of the GDR party and state leadership for its activity. He underlined the determination of the socialist German state and its Armed Forces to reliably fulfill its alliance obligations at all times and to further strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact states. The meeting is taking place at a time when positive changes are emerging in international relations. The first agreement on disarmament in the nuclear sphere—the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles—has aroused great hopes.

Considerable forces remain at work, however, attempting to further prevent steps in this direction and to introduce a new armament process under the codeword of "modernization." Now it is important to prevent a new arms race by inducing the ruling circles of the West to pursue the course of disarmament, and finally to contribute their own initiatives to the further improvement of the situation. In this context, he stressed the responsibility of the socialist armed forces.

Erich Honecker expressed his high respect for the important recent initiatives from the USSR, which Mikhail Gorbachev explained to the U.S. secretary of state in Moscow. These steps, along with those already introduced for the unilateral reduction of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, shows the way forward to a world free of war and violence. He stressed the GDR's determination, both in conjunction with the alliance partners in the Warsaw Pact and through its own initiatives, to contribute to the disarmament process in the interests of peace.

During the course of the meeting, the general secretary reported on the initiatives and achievements of the workers and soldiers of the GDR in the further implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. In the 40th anniversary year of the GDR and in preparation for the 12th SED Congress, they planned to make an active contribution to strengthening the socialist fatherland.

The meeting was attended by the members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, Army General Heinz Kessler, minister for national defense, and Egon Krenz, secretary of the SED Central Committee; deputy defense ministers, General Fritz Streletz and General Horst Bruenner; Wolfgang Herger, head of the Security Department of the SED Central Committee; and also Heinz Eichler, secretary of the GDR Council of State.

Joint Troop Exercises Continue in GDR 16 May

AU1805153089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 May 89 p 2

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—The joint troop exercise of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the National People's Army [NVA] continued on Tuesday [16 May]. Motorized riflemen, tank soldiers, and artillerymen improved their combat positions in terms of the way they are engineered and are preparing for defense action. Up to 20,100 members of both fraternal armies are engaged in the exercise, which is headed by Major General Stanislav Rumyantsev, commander of a GSFG unit. A total of 314 tanks, 311 artillery pieces, 393 launchers for antitank missiles, and 51 helicopters are involved in the exercise. This means 500 soldiers and 94 tanks fewer than the GDR Government originally announced.

In accordance with the documents of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, 40 observes from 20 CSCE signatory states are participating in this exercise. They come from Belgium, Bulgaria, the FRG, CSSR, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Italy, the SFRY, Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, Austria, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Hungary, and the United States.

On behalf of the GDR Government and at the order of Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of National Defense, the generals, officers, and diplomats were welcome in Potsdam by Major General Rudolf Magnitzke, deputy chief of the NVA Main Staff. The GDR is consistently working for more confidence, security, and predictability in the military sector, he said. Together with its allies, the GDR advocates that, in the framework of the Vienna talks and without losing any time, efficient agreements will be concluded, particularly to reduce armed forces and armaments in Europe.

The beginning of the disbanding of NVA tank regiments and the withdrawal of GSFG troops from GDR territory stress the serious nature and credibility of all our proposals and prove that word and deed are in harmony, Magnitzke said. The GDR believes that verbal declarations are no longer sufficient today, but that concrete deeds are required to achieve further detente, more security, and disarmament, Major General Magnitzke noted.

Subsequently, the foreign military officials and diplomats were familiarized with the course of the exercise and the observation program. On the basis of a map, they were informed about the additional possibility of observing the action areas of the staffs and troops on board helicopters.

GDR Opposes Convertibility of CEMA Currencies

AU2405101289 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 24 May 89 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Many Prerequisites Are Not Given; GDR Against Convertibility"]

[Text] In the CEMA countries the material prerequisites for the introduction of a higher degree of convertibility of the currencies "are not yet given," the GDR magazine WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT states in agreement with the restrictive policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on this question. The introduction of convertibility for a socialist currency depends primarily on basic prerequisites such as a developed fiscal economy and international economic competitiveness, it was stated.

CEMA Executive Committee Meets in Moscow

For Moscow PRAVDA in Russian reportage on the outcome of 131st session of the CEMA Executive Committee, please see the WORLDWIDE ISSUES section of the 23 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Romania's Balan Meets With GDR's Stoph

AU1905194289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 19/5/1989—Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, received a Romanian delegation led by Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee, who attended a meeting of the planning bodies of the two countries held in Berlin. On the occasion the general secretary of the CC of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, was conveyed a warm salute and wishes of good health and the people of the GDR wishes of further significant successes in the country's manysided development and in socialist construction on behalf of RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Thanks were conveyed on behalf of Erich Honecker, along with wishes of good health and happiness to President Nicolae Ceausescu and of ever greater successes in socialist construction to the Romanian people.

Further on Nonaligned Envoy's Meeting in Harare

Loncar Meets Representatives

LD1905090989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2131 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Harare, May 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar here today resumed consultations with the delegation heads of several nonaligned countries about points on the agenda of the ministerial meeting, especially those to be highlighted by the movement's ninth summit.

Loncar had separate talks with the delegation heads of Zambia, Kuwait, India, Guyana, Nicaragua, Bahrain, Iran, Syria and Guinea.

The talks are learnt to have almost invariably demonstrated a close conformity of views on the movement's modernization and its activities in the changing world.

Loncar's talks so far have shown general confidence that Yugoslavia was to successfully host the ninth summit.

Loncar Meets Zimbabwe's Mugabe

LD1805150889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1342 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Harare, May 18 (TANJUG)—After starting last Tuesday [16 May], the Harare non-aligned ministerial conference kep going in the spirit of increased unity, Zimbabwe's president Robert Mugabe and Yugoslavia's Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar estimated here today.

Yugoslavia's chief delegate was received here today for a one-hour talk by President Mugabe.

Loncar and Mugabe stated precisely that the Non-aligned's greater unity is mirrored in insistence on updating the Non-aligned Movement, orientation for action and different priorities in future appearance on the international scene.

President Mugabe and Minister Loncar devoted major attention to preparations for a 9th non-aligned summit in Belgrade, pointing out that a concrete and constructive action plan should be made. Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe want to jointly contribute to this and, so, scheduled was an early visit by Nathan Shamuyarira, the foreign minister of Zimbabwe, to Belgrade before long.

Also exchanged were views on the situation in southern African region and results from an eight-country summit in Luanda a short time ago at which the heads of the frontline countries gave their full support to the plan for Namibia. President Mugabe and federal secretary Loncar estimated cooperation between Yuoslavia and Zimbabwe as very successful, adding that economic ties between the two friendly countries could be still firmer.

Harare Address by Loncar

LD1905124889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1121 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Harare, May 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia, and Belgrade in particular, are sparing no effort to welcome the highest representatives of non-aligned countries at the September summit, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar told the non-aligned ministerial conference here today.

Loncar expressed satisfaction with the activities of the movement for the preparation of the ninth summit which, he said, have been going on at three levels—within the coordinating bureau in New York, within the ministerial committee established in Nicosia under the chairmanship of Cypriot foreign Minister George Iacovou, and in Yugoslavia said the report and recommendations approved at the meeting of the committee in Harare three days ago, were an excellent basis for an adequate response to the needs of the time and expectations from the summit.

In Yugoslavia, Loncar said, intensive political, organizational, technical and other preparatory work is well under way. "We are doing our best to create all necessary conditions for the successful work of the summit and pleasant stay of all participants," he stressed adding that his country intends to be in constant communication with all non-aligned members in order to secure that everyone is well informed about all aspects of the preparations.

The proposal that the summit be held from September 4 to 7 in Belgrade is to be formally confirmed in Harare, after which Yugoslavia will extend official invitations to the heads of state or government of full members, as well as to observers and guests.

"The draft agenda, which has been submitted to this meeting, has met with wide acceptance and we expect it to be adopted," Loncar said.

Assessing the work of the Harare ministerial conference, Loncar said the productive exchange of views in Harare "re-affirmed our conviction that all the necessary preconditions for the successful work of the Ninth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade have been created."

"Once again it has been confirmed that the non-aligned countries need a movement which will be able to react promptly and effectively in order to ensure their influence on current developments, as well as to protect and promote their national interests, economic and political position and overall development," Loncar said adding that "the relevance of the initiative to modernize the movement has been fully confirmed in terms of a fundamental political process directed towards its adjustment to the changing international environment and its participation in the ongoing dialogue in international relations."

"We believe that the movement can enhance its influence and improve its efficiency by identifying realistic priorities and concentrating pragmatic action on them," he stressed.

As host to the ninth summit and chairman of the movement in the forthcoming period, Yugoslavia will do its utmost to prepare draft documents that would reflect such an orieation of non-aligned countries. This will be guided by the general support for a draft declaration that will review and assess present-day international developments in a condensed and action-oriented manner. The decleration will, we trust, offer a vision of future development and of the place and role of the movement in the present phase of international relations and in the foreseeable future. At the same time, through operative documents we will make an effort to lay down the lines of action on specific issues which are of paramount importance for the non-aligned and other developing countries, particularly where conditions are ripe for the achievement of concrete results," Loncar said.

Meeting on Balkan Trust, Security Opens

AU2305132889 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] A Balkan meeting at the level of experts devoted to examining steps to strengthen trust and security among Balkan countries opened today in Bucharest. The meeting is attended by representatives from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hellenic Republic, the Republic of Turkey, the SFRY, and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The meeting is part of the positive process of developing comprehensive relations among Balkan countries. It is called upon to give new scope to the process of cooperation in the Balkans, through a free and constructive exchange of opinions, which can contribute to finding new ways and means for cooperation and can lead to greater rapprochement and mutual trust. Through the conclusions it will reach, the Bucharest meeting can pave the way for an ever more substantial progress along the road of turning the Balkans into an area of mutual trust and security, without nuclear and chemical weapons and without foreign military bases, an area of peaceful cooperation among equal nations.

International Media Forum Ends Prague Session

AU2205173389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 May 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Session of the International Radio and Television Organization Concluded"]

[Text] Prague—The 34th plenary session of the International Radio and Television Organization [OIRT] was concluded in Prague on Thursday [18 May]. Here the delegates of 15 radio and television organizations in Europe, Asia, and Latin America have been discussing their plans for the coming period and the issues of further technical development. They focused their attention on the preparation of transmissions from significant international sports events. They also elected a new OIRT top management and granted membership in the organization to new associated members—the radio and television unions from Austria, France, the FRG, Italy, the United States, and Spain.

On the same day the delegation heads were received by Jan Fojtik, Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], who briefed the foreign representatives on the tasks of Czechoslovak mass communications media under the present conditions of restructuring our society. He stressed the propaganda staffer's growing responsibility for pushing through new political thinking, and their irreplaceable mission in intensifying mutual trust and understanding between nations. In this context he focused attention on the significance of international cooperation between journalists, which establishes favorable conditions for removing stereotypes and the vestiges of "cold war."

Karel Kvapil, deputy central director of the Czechoslovak Radio and newly elected chairman of the OIRT Board of Directors, supplied information on the course and results of the session which has just ended. The reception was attended by Jaroslav Jenik, head of the CPCZ Central Committee Propaganda Department.

'Riots' in Razgrad, Varna Regions on 20-21 May

AU2305182289 Sofia BTA in English
1752 GMT 23 May 89

["Misled and Instigated To Breach the Peace"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 23 (BTA)—The Foreign Passports Act and the Bulgarian Nationality Act, recently passed by the National Assembly, guarantee the citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria all rights to foreign travel and to a free return to their country. Owing to the still incomplete elucidations of these acts and to the inaccurate information provided by some local authorities on the procedures of their enforcement, misunderstandings arose among certain strata of the population on account of these matters. The situation was actively used by foreign radio stations which recently have been broadcasting untrue and tendentious reports obviously intended to instigate Bulgarian citizens to commit breaches of the public order. Under the influence of their incitement and anti-Bulgarian propaganda, tensions mounted and riots broke out in some population centres of the regions of Razgrad and Varna on May 20 and 21. Extremist-minded individuals, some under the influence of alcohol, committed a gross violation of the peace and tried to draw groups of the population into acts of lawless violence.

Despite the numerous appeals to abide by the law, a group led by extremist elements attacked and ill-treated civil servants, police officers included, in the village of Todor Ikonomovo, region of Varna. An attempt to break into the village council and to seize the arms kept there resulted in a confrontation. Warning shots were fired and two persons were killed by bullets rebounding from the pavement. Three citizens were injured and they were given urgent medical attention.

One citizen, registered as an outpatient suffering from a heart disease, died during the riots in the town of Kaolinovo. A post mortem examination found that a cardiac infarction had been the cause of death.

The local authorities and the security forces are enforcing rigorous law and order observance measures.

It should be emphasized once again that the acts passed by the National Assembly will be observed in a strict and full measure with respect to all Bulgarian citizens. The law says that every citizen of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has the right to leave the country whenever he or she wishes to do so and to return on a Bulgarian foreign travel passport. The administrative offices are taking measures to make available the necessary forms and other documents and to provide services to the citizens within the statutory terms. For their part, however, the citizens are obliged to observe the law and order in this country.

The two pieces of legislation are not prompted by ad hoc considerations, they do not have a temporary character but come as an expression of the policy of free movement and human contacts, consistently implemented by the Bulgarian state, and as a practical application of the principles adopted at the Vienna follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Stanishev Holds Talks With Angolan Delegation

AU2205172289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 May 89 p 2

[Text] On 19 May Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], received a delegation of the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]-Labor Party led by Sebastiano da Silva, head of the Central Committee International Relations Department.

The guests were briefed on the restructuring that is taking place in Bulgaria in the spirit of the July Concept, and on our country's peaceful foreign policy in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

Comrade Sebastiano da Silva spoke about the activity of the MPLA-Labor Party in strengthening the national unity and economic restoration of the People's Republic of Angola. He spoke about the implementation of the UN plan on giving independence to Namibia in accordance with Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council, something that would produce exceptionally important political, socioeconomic, and other changes in the southern part of Africa.

The eternal importance of the new political thinking for the democratic renewal of the world was confirmed during the talks. Confidence in further expanding friendly relations between the BCP and the MPLA-Labor Party was expressed.

A plan on cooperation between the two parties for the period of 1989-1991 was signed.

Atanasov Begins Formal Talks in Algiers

AU2305183789 Sofia BTA in English
1801 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Algiers, May 23 (BTA special correspondent)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, who arrived on an official visit to Algeria, and Mr Kasdi Merbah, prime minister of Algeria, who invited the Bulgarian head of government to make the trip, opened formal talks here today. The two prime ministers surveyed the progress of bilateral ties. They agreed that the relations between Bulgaria and Algeria should undergo an upgrade development in keeping with their national programmes and plans. It was pointed out that there are a number of untapped opportunities to promote economic exchanges and to pursue them on a long-term basis and in the direction of increased two-way trade. An emphasis was laid on the need to seek new forms of cooperation in all fields.

The two heads of government exchanged views on some international issues. They indicated that a new situation is gaining ground in the world on the basis of new political thinking, of a growing realism in addressing mankind's problems. As a result, the nuclear war threat is receding and a fundamentally new situation arises in the political settlement of regional conflicts. International life therefore reorients itself from confrontation to enhanced dialogue, mutual understanding and cooperation.

This was the light in which the sides assessed the results of the Vienna follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the prospects for fruitful contacts among the governments and the peoples on the Balkan peninsula, the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of sincerity and mutual understanding.

Later in the day Mr Kasdi Merbah, prime minister of Algeria, gave an official dinner for Mr Georgi Atanasov.

SED's Krolikowski Pays Visit; Meets Tsanov

AU1805130489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 May 89 p 5

[Text] Sofia (ND)—Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] arrived in Sofia on Tuesday [16 May] at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. During the talks that were started on the same day, Werner Krolikowski and Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, briefed each other on the results achieved in the building of socialism as a result of the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 13th BCP Congress. Vasil Tsanov presented an overview of the stipulations made at the latest BCP Central Committee plenum on the restructuring of Bulgarian agriculture. Proceeding from its significance as an important supplier of raw materials and in the interest of ensuring supplies to the population, measures are envisaged to raise agricultural production to a considerably higher level.

Werner Krolikowski explained the topical tasks of the SED in preparation for its 12th congress. He pointed to the stable and dynamic development of agricultural production, which considerably contributes to continuing the strategy of the unity of economic and social policy.

The partners in the talks deliberated on the development and results of the cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the fields of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry and discussed the level of fulfillment of the agreements concluded between the two partners for this purpose. In the spirit of friendship and fraternal cooperation, they exchanged ideas and proposals on how the developing cooperation in agricultural policy can be made increasingly fruitful in line with the Program for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation Through the Year 2000, which was signed by Erich Honecker and Todor Zhivkov in Sofia in 1987.

Nicaragua's Tomas Borge Interviewed on Arrival

AU2405085289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Tomas Borge, minister of interior of Nicaragua, by Vasil Kh. Popov: "Shield of Revolution"; in Sofia on 21 May]

[Text] Yesterday, Tomas Borge, minister of interior of Nicaragua, arrived in our country for an official working visit. Only a few minutes after he descended from the airplane, Tomas Borge gave an interview to Vasil Kh. Popov, representative of our editorial board:

[Popov] What is the most characteristic task of your Ministry of Interior today in connection with the defense of the revolution in Nicaragua?

[Borge] Before answering this question, I would like to express my satisfaction at visiting this fraternal country. It is no secret that we in Nicaragua have special feelings toward Bulgaria. I am on a working visit and I am looking forward to meeting old friends. The situation in our country is difficult. The revolution must cope with counterrevolution in Nicaragua. As minister of interior, I am involved in the solution of specific problems related to the maintainance of public order, which as a result of the acute economic crisis is characterized by an increasing criminality rate. The struggle in Nicaragua is both political and ideological, but it also has a military aspect, despite the fact that the threat of organized armed, counterrevolution from the United States has been eliminated.

[Popov] How is the population cooperating with the public order and security organs?

[Borge] People in Nicaragua call our ministry: "Star of Joy." It has close relations with the population. The experience we have acquired and our successes in resisting counterrevolution, subversive activities, and terrorism would be impossible without the people's support.

[Popov] How do you see Nicaragua's future role in the area and would you comment on the most recent events in Panama?

[Borge] Nicaragua fulfilled its agreements with El Salvador accurately and within schedule. If there is a side that has implemented these agreements, it is certainly our country. Several conditions were imposed on us, including the requirement to amend our election system, as well to speed up our elections—and we fulfilled all these conditions. We are now preparing our future elections, but our enemies are just saying that the elections would be forged, and the requirements would not be observed, just as it allegedely happened with elections in Panama.

[Popov] What do you expect from your current visit to Bulgaria and how do you evaluate the cooperation between our two countries' public order and security organs?

[Borge] Relations between our two ministries have always been excellent. Our Bulgarian colleagues are assisting us, and we have learned many things from them. We are now expecting to strengthen our political relations even more.

[Popov] Would you permit me to ask one more question: What else personally connects you and your family with Bulgaria?

[Borge] Even before visiting your country I was moved by the historical links and by numerous characteristic features which our two countries have in common. Bulgaria and Nicaragua are alike—as regards the size of their territories, their customs, and geographical features—they produce similar foodstuffs. However, I think that the most significant common feature of our two peoples is their strength of character. In addition to all this, I have a personal reason to be grateful to the Bulgarian people. One of my daughters is currently in your country for medical treatment. She has been quite sick, but she is being treated with great attention.

'Arafat Thanks Zhivkov on Election Greetings

AU2205112989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 May 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council, has received a message from Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, expressing deep gratitude for the message sent to him on his election as president of the State of Palestine.

The Palestinian leader thanks Bulgaria for supporting the Palestinian people's just struggle for restoring and exercising their irrevocable national rights, including the rights of returning to their homeland, self-determination, and establishing an independent state.

Meetings With Mayors of Greek Sister Cities

AU2205200989 Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Blagoevgrad, May 22 (BTA)—Today started the first meeting between the mayors of twinned Bulgarian and Greek towns.

The representatives of the two sides stressed the noble and highly humane idea of the closer relations between towns and municipalities—through multilateral contacts and exchange of information and experience to contribute to the strengthening of the cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece.

There are about 30 twinned Bulgarian and Greek towns at present. They utilize in practice the great opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation in the sphere of economy, culture, tourism sport, ecology.

The participants in the meeting adopted an address to the mayors of the Balkan countries' cities in which they call for active work for the turning of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and for joint realization of an efficient ecological protection of the region.

Customs Official on Illegal Transit Traffic

AU2305184789 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 19 May 89 p 6

[Interview with Nikolay Nikolov, director, and Teodor Tsvetkov, deputy director of the "Customs" Administration at the Ministry of Planning and Economy, by Aleksandur Ivanov: "Illegal Traffic Across Legal Borders"—time, place not given]

[Text] The major flow of passengers, vehicles, and freight from the Middle East to Western Europe and back passes through Bulgaria. In addition to honest and well-intentioned passengers, people with criminal intentions, drug and weapon smugglers and dealers try to cross our borders. The question of how to struggle against them, and more precisely, how to implement the cooperation of Balkan countries in the struggle against terrorism and illegal drug and weapons traffic—this will be the topic of the forthcoming experts meeting scheduled to take place in Belgrade from 6 to 8 June 1989.

This meeting is the logical continuation of the dialogue among high ranking representatives of foreign affairs ministries from Balkan countries which was held in Sofia in June 1988. In this connection a representative of the editorial board interviewed Nikolay Nikolov, director, and Teodor Tsvetko, deputy cirector of the "customs" administration at the Ministry of Planning and Economy.

Questions addressed to Todor Tsvetkov:

[Ivanov] You have been in charge of our customs activities in connection with preventing drug traffic through the Bulgarian territory for several years. Considerable successes were achieved in this respect, which is a well-known fact. Why then, is our country frequently exposed to slanderous attacks claiming that we, allegedly, facilitate drug traffic?

[Tsvetkov] This is a question asked not only by journalists, but also by some of my friends and acquaintances. There is something strange in this respect. Some newspaper abroad publishes an article of this kind, and we immediately learn about it, while at the same time thousands of other articles are published about which we never hear a word, or about which we do not care. Malicious articles are written with a certain slanderous intention, of course, but they should not be taken seriously. In addition, they are written by incompetent people. One of my foreign colleagues once told me in this connection: "You, Bulgarians, are much too sensitive." However, our indignation is understandable. We have truly accomplished a great deal in this respect and the results of our efforts are even more useful to other countries than to us, because the problem of drug addiction is almost nonexistent in our country. For this reason, we react sensitively to ill-intentioned distortions of truth, which poison the international atmosphere.

[Ivanov] You said that drug addiction is not a problem in our country. Nevertheless, our mass media mention a figure—around 1,000 drug addicts are supposed to exist in Bulgaria, according to them.

[Tsvetkov] I said that drug addiction is not a major problem in our country. Individual drug addicts have always existed. Nevertheless, their number and the drugs they use are not likely to transform this phenomenon into a national and socio-medical problem. Since the very beginning of our active efforts against illegal traffic, which have persisted over 20 years, many well-intentioned foreign colleagues, but also pessimistic prophets have predicted that drug addiction would soon spread over Bulgaria. Nevertheless, I was convinced and I am still convinced, that for many reasons (which are related to our national history, but especially for socio-psychological reasons) our country is no fertile ground for a broad development of this scourge of mankind, and will never become a problem for us. We should remember one thing—there has not been so far even one single case of imported drugs being used by Bulgarian addicts, which means that no illegally smuggled drugs have ever been intended for use in our country.

In addition to this, when people in the West talk with concern about drug addiction, they refer to heroin and cocaine, in the first place. Both drugs are unknown in Bulgaria. Nevertheless, you can obtain the most accurate and competent data on the "contingent" of Bulgarian drug addicts from the drug specialists at the State Pharmaceutical Association.

[Ivanov] Comrade Tsvetkov, the term "Balkan route" is frequently mentioned in connection with drug traffic.

[Tsvetkov] Drug traffic tends to exist chiefly in the Balkans, which is the so-called "Balkan route," namely Turkey, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia. The other Balkan countries remain somewhat at the periphery. The major traffic is passing along this route, and this also applies to drug traffic. Illegal traffic passes over the same route as legal traffic. Last year, in 1988, our customs authorities had to deal with approximately 18.5 million passengers, 8.5 million of whom crossed the border at Kalotino and Kapitan Andreevo, our two checkpoints. This means that there is a heavy work load for our customs inspectors. Despite this fact, an increasing amount of drugs is being detected. As a matter of fact, 1988 was a record year: 157 kg of heroin, including the largest amount ever seized, 46.800 kg. Within the first quarter of 1989 over 80 kg of drugs were discovered. However, let us go back to the subject of the Balkan route. As far as drug traffic is concerned, this route begins from the Balkans, but the poison crosses all of Europe, reaching the the Atlantic coast. It is precisely for this reason that we are very much aware of our responsibility to mankind in our contemporary world.

Questions addressed to Nikolay Nikolov:

[Ivanov] Your are in charge of Bulgarian customs and you will attend the forthcoming Belgrade meeting as a delegate. What is your comment on the anti-Bulgarian articles in question?

[Nikolov] I categorically reject them, because we not only detect drugs, but actively cooperate with our colleagues from the countries to which the smuggled drugs are being exported. We have good relations with the United States. We are dispatching samples from the confiscated heroin which are needed to identify the areas illegally producing drugs to the American authorities. We provided information to our colleagues in the FRG, the Netherlands, Turkey, Austria, and other countries on several occasions.

[Ivanov] What about our customs relations with the Balkan countries? What do you expect from the forthcoming Belgrade meeting? Are any new measures planned to be adopted at this meeting?

[Nikolov] Our relations are very good, but they could be even more effective. This is precisely what we expect from the forthcoming meeting. We think that it would be expedient for the expansion and intensification of Balkan-wide customs cooperation to hold periodical meetings of competent representatives of customs administrations from Balkan countries.

Such meetings may be introduced as an element of a future all-Balkan customs agreement, or memorandum, determining the general principles and mechanisms of our cooperation. In our opinion this would be a method of establishing our mutual relations on a much more solid, not only bilateral, but multilateral basis, and as a means of improving the efficiency of our joint work.

Former Radio Free Europe Employee Speaks Out

AU2004160789

[Editorial Report] Sofia dailies NARODNA ARMIYA, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, and TRUD in Bulgarian on 19 April 1989 report the press conference given by Pavel Glavusanov, former Radio Free Europe (RFE) employee, on 18 April for foreign correspondents in Sofia, focusing on personal remarks and adding personal remarks and questions of their reporters and commentators during the press conference.

NARODNA ARMIYA on page 3 carries a 1,500-word BTA datelined report, entitled: "RFE—An Anachronism of Our Time" which describes RFE activities in general, adding some minor details about Bulgarian emigres in Munich who are "posing as dissidents and heroes," but soon lose their good reputation even among refugee circles, because of their immoral behavior and bad manners, such as leaving "unpaid dentist bills," and so forth.

The report ends with the passage: "Colonel Lyubomir Mikhaylov, NARODNA ARMIYA's military political commentator, asked the following questions at the press conference:" Mikhaylov says: "Has RFE any interest in the Bulgarian People's Army and how is this interest manifested? Are any former military people working at RFE, and have any Bulgarian military people given telephone interviews?" Glavusanov answers: "The Bulgarian People's Army has not been a subject of RFE transmissions. I even tried to touch upon this issue during the programs I was in charge of, because I was aware of this omission, and even addressed the information department of the U.S. Armed Forces stationed in the FRG on this subject. I was connected with a major, who promised to assist me, but never called back. As regards the question, whether any former military people are working at RFE, I do not know any such persons and no one of this kind has ever contacted the Bulgarian section. Some of the editors may have served in the former Royal Army, but I am not sure."

ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME on page 4 carries an 1,500-word article by Petur Stanchev, entitled: "Is 'Free Europe' Really Free?" which according to the authors contains "reflections" on Glavusanov's press conference. The article opens with "statistics" reporting that the conference lasted 1 and ½ hours, that it was attended by approximately 25 Bulgarian and foreign journalists, and that "Glavusanov was asked over 70 questions." Most of the article contains quotations from Glavusanov's statements on RFE activities.

In the last passage Petur Stanchev comments on Glavusanov's motivations and explanations for his defection from Bulgaria and his subsequent return: "Glavusanov's answer to the questions asked at his press conference, were generally speaking, brief and well measured, they coincided with his remarks made in the two television programs we watched. Nevertheless—let us briefly resume his story: Having established himself abroad in the conviction of working for a just cause he started in his new (and highly paid!) job with commentaries on readers' letters, which he prudently took with him before leaving our country. Subsequently transferred to the news department, Glavusanov, in his own words, had a sharp disagreement with the management of the radio station related to the poor professional quality of the broadcast materials prepared by employees of the Bulgarian section. Disappointed and deceived in his hopes of being useful to his country in this post, Glavusanov who remained a citizen of his country, as a matter of fact, was humiliated and became aware that he was playing the role of a lackey who was carrying out orders and directives, instead of thinking for himself. For this reason, Glavusanov, according to his own statement, became a thorn in the side of his bosses, and at the same time, reached a stage of maturity which enabled him to resolve his crucial dilemma—namely the decision to return to his homeland, where he was born, educated, and developed as a sound human being."

TRUD on page 4 carries a 600 word interview with Glavusanov by Raycho Radulov, entitled: "I Had a Stand" which reportedly took place following the 18 April press conference—place, date not given.

Radulov explains that "since Glavusanov's former professional activities were linked to the daily TRUD, we asked him to provide some more details on questions connected with our editorial board, which were only briefly touched upon during the press conference."

Radulov asks Glavusanov to explain his conflict with the daily to which he vaguely referred on several occasions, and to clarify the reasons for his resignation. Glavusanov insists that he "never had any disagreements with the leadership of the newspaper, or with his colleagues" but was "forced to resign for health reasons, under the threat of a disciplinary dismissal." Radulov retorts: "I feel somewhat embarrassed by your answers: Some 'mysterious personality'—whose name you never disclosed—was persecuting you and you decided to leave Bulgaria. Over there, however, the RFE chiefs made life difficult for you, and so you decided to return...."

Radulov adds: "Excuse me, but I have the feeling that you are a man without a stand." Glavusanov indignantly rejects this accusation, but, asked about the source material for his first RFE programs, confesses: "In a not very honest manner I removed some readers' letters from TRUD and POGLED on which I based my comments. This was not very ethical I admit, and I confess my sin."

Finally, asked about his future plans, and whether he would like to "return to journalism", Glavusanov says: "I intend to become a translator. It has always been my dream to translate Graham Greene...I have no moral right to become a journalist. How could people believe me?"

Foreign Correspondents Discuss Working Conditions
AU1904074389

[Editorial Report] Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian issue no 16 and 17 April 1989 carries on page 11 a 2,200-word report entitled "Overcoming Barriers" on a roundtable discussion with foreign correspondents accredited in Sofia focusing on their working conditions and problems with Bulgarian authorities. The report is preceeded by the following editorial note:

"As a result of signing the Vienna final document we are living under new conditions. The changes, to a great extent, affect the work of journalists, especially of those accredited as correspondents to other countries. They have greater access to information and public events today.

"The information forum of representatives from the 35 signatory states of the Vienna document, scheduled to open in London tomorrow, is devoted to these problems. We would like to thank our following interlocutors today, who on the eve of this forum, agreed to participate in a roundtable discussion organized by POGLED and openly expressed their opinions: Aleksandr Stepanenko, acting chief of the Sofia TASS Bureau; Mike Power and Denise Searle [name as transliterated], freelance correspondents for the BBC, THE INDEPENDENT, NEW SCIENTIST, SEVEN DAYS, and TIME; Grzegorz Szczekowski, correspondent for Polish radio and television; Van Dzinpo [name as transliterated], deputy acting chief of the Sofia XINHUA Bureau, and Veselin Toshkov, AFP free-lance correspondent for Bulgaria."

TASS correspondent Stepanenko, in his opening statement, finds the present situation in Bulgaria "very interesting" and declares himself satisfied with his working conditions, adding that problems with access to information also exist in Western countries, like in Britain, where the expression "no comment" is frequently heard.

Stepanenko, like all his other colleagues, hails the idea of establishing a "national press center in Sofia", because "the number of press conferences in Bulgaria is insufficient" and "restricted to a limited number of journalists." Stepanenko also regrets that journalists are not invited to signing ceremonies of agreements between Bulgarian and Soviet companies, and would like to inspect new companies in the provinces. He also finds interviews with local party and administrative leaders somewhat unsatisfactory, because they are usually limited to routine statistics, which could be obtained elsewhere.

Mike Power is more critical about the general working conditions provided by Bulgarian authorities to Western foreign correspondents. He says: "We have been accredited to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since October 1988, but to this date we have not obtained any personal information. For all meetings with officials we are always obliged to apply to the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We have nothing against the established procedure, but 3 months ago we submitted a list of people we would like to meet, and only one of these meetings has actually taken place to date, after our energetic remonstrations."

POGLED reacts to these remarks by admitting that "so far our ministries have no press secretaries and Bulgaria has no government speaker; no periodical press conferences are taking place like those organized in Moscow," but he adds that the situation will change especially after "Comrade Todor Zhivkov, at the Boyana meeting with journalists, presented a well-organized system related to the new manner of thinking in the field of information."

The Chinese correspondent expresses satisfaction with the working conditions, which are facilitated by the fact that his Xinhua bureau team is familiar with the Bulgarian language. However, he regrets the fact that "the present press center in Sofia deals exclusively with administrative tasks, the organizing of trips, etc, but does not provide sufficient information." He suggests the establishment of a foreign correspondents' club where periodic press conferences should be held by various ministries.

Veselin Toshkov, AFP "free-lance correspondent" in Sofia, praises the recent "positive changes" in Bulgarian journalism, mentioning POGLED as one of the "pioneers" in this respect. He states that "while several years ago we had difficulties in finding materials about events in Bulgaria that are likely to interest readers abroad, today BTA and the newspapers can hardly find enough space to publish the large amount of material which, I think, would be most interesting for foreign readers."

Grzegorz Szczekowski, the Polish correspondent, is "impatiently awaiting the establishment of a permanently operating press center that should become a living organism of the communications with journalists." He is satisfied with working conditions in Bulgaria, but would like to have access to more press conferences usually reserved only for Bulgarian journalists.

Mike Power notes that "Western radio stations, including the BBC" for which he works, "are not particularly popular in Bulgaria." He points out that this is reflected by the official attitude toward correspondents, adding that "whenever we meet Bulgarian leaders, or officials, we observe, how they are immediately aware of our being Western journalists, let alone the fact that on most occasions we are asked to submit our questions in advance." Power compares this approach to the "normal" and relaxed attitude of "ordinary Bulgarian people" he has interviewed. "The reserved behavior of the officials presumably stems from the prevailing opinion in your country on certain Western stations, such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty," he states.

POGLED retorts that "when one of our colleagues gave an interview to BBC on the Bulgarian journalists congress and the events around it a month ago, it was correctly broadcast, except for a few cuts; however, the final portion of the interview was missing and this was the most important part of it." Power replies that the same has happened to him with a BBC report on a miners' strike in Britain.

The concluding statements of the participants in the roundtable discussion end on a friendly note of general agreement on the necessity of "overcoming numerous barriers in search of the truth," POGLED reports, and concludes: "We Bulgarian journalists are aware that if you work well in our country, then we will work better in yours."

Withdrawn Soviet Tanks To Be 'Melted Down'

LD2305135189 Prague CTK in English
1242 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Prague May 23 (CTK)—A military train with 23 T-72 tanks, the first part of the overall number of 192 Soviet tanks which are to be withdrawn this year from Czechoslovakia in harmony with the decision of the Soviet Government, left today the town of Krupka in northern Bohemia.

The withdrawal of modern Soviet military technology from the western part of Czechoslovakia started one day after the Warsaw Treaty states publicly appealed to NATO countries to dissolve the two military political groupings. The first step should be the dissolution of their military organizations.

Major General Yuriy Shchepin, chief of staff of the Central Group of Soviet Troops, told journalists at the Bohosudov railway station that the withdrawal is part of the realization of the peace initiative and one-sided reduction of the number of soldiers and military technology of the Soviet Armed Forces announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the December U.N. General Assembly session in New York. The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union will be gradually decreased by 500,000 soldiers, 10,000 tanks and further military technology. 1,500 Soviet soldiers, 192 tanks and 20 planes will be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia this year, he said, adding that part of the troops have already been withdrawn.

Answering a question concerning the fate of the T-72 tanks he said that some of them will be melted down and some will be used in agriculture as special machines after removing all weapons from them.

Military Attache of West German Embassy in Czechoslovakia Adolf Brueggemann stressed in his interview for CTK that the possibility to follow the withdrawal of the Soviet tanks is a demonstration of great openness and sincerity of the Soviet policy and appreciated the development of contacts between the West German and Soviet military representatives.

Hungary's Nemeth Arrives for Top-Level Talks

LD2405085989 Prague CTK in English
0812 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth arrived here today on a one-day friendly working visit aimed at assessing topical issues of the two countries' cooperation and its further prospects.

The Hungarian guest will have talks with Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec, Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and President Gustav Husak.

Begins Talks With Adamec

LD2405111289 Budapest MTI in English
1025 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Prague, May 24 (MTI)—Prime Ministers Miklos Nemeth and Ladislav Adamec began a tete-a-tete in Hrzan Palace, Prague, on Wednesday.

The Czechoslovak prime minister is to host a lunch in Miklos Nemeth's honour, and the parties will then hold plenary talks with the involvement of experts and members of the delegation.

In the afternoon, the Hungarian Prime Minister is to meet Milos Jakes, CPC CC [Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee] general secretary, and Gustav Husak, president of the Republic. The plenary talks are to continue late into the afternoon, when the two prime ministers will give a short press briefing.

Hungarian Official Conducts Talks in Bratislava

AU2305104889 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 19 May 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Stefan Lazar, minister of the interior and living environment of the Slovak Socialist Republic, received a delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, led by Zoltan Gaal, state secretary of the Ministry of the Interior of the Hungarian People's Republic, in Bratislava on Thursday [18 May]. The guests have arrived to study the tasks of national committees in the comprehensive economic and social development of administrative divisions.

Condemnation of Hungary Over Nagymaros Demanded

AU2205120589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 20 May 89 p 2

[Jarmila Houfova review of the week's events in the "In the Mirror of the Week" column]

[Excerpt] Public opinion this week was roused by the still incomplete system of hydropower projects on the Danube. It was roused strongly. In their letters and phone calls, readers ask why we have not condemned the temporary construction halt on the Hungarian side more sharply. I am asking: What would sharp words accomplish, why rouse passions? What is needed is common sense and businesslike negotiations. I believe that, in their statements, our Federal Government and the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic adequately expressed our surprise, unequivocal view, and firm stand. They clearly said that the government insists on the continuation and completion of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydropower projects according to the valid contractual documents and that it reserves the right to express the damage incurred in figures and, subsequently, to claim the payment of damages in accordance with the treaty. At the same time, the government is ready to start talks with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic with the aim of finding a joint path toward the successful completion of the system of hydropower projects. [passage omitted]

Protests Cited

AU2405081989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 May 89 pp 1, 4

[Article by Vojtech Vesely: "Dispute Over the Nagymaros Dam; The Danube Hydropower Project—Field of Political Struggle;" opening paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Excerpts] A new permanent correspondent of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA in the Hungarian People's Republic, Comrade Vojtech Vesely, took up his work in Budapest a few days ago. We publish his first correspondence.

The hall of the Nagymaros House of Culture is crowded to the point of bursting, many people crowd around the television set in the vestibule, others listen to the loudspeakers in the street outside. A forum, which is the term used here for a public gathering, organized by the local committee of the Patriotic People's Front, is taking place. Before it opens, Ferenc Kismartoni, director of the House of Culture, explains to me the mission of the forum: "It should give also those an opportunity to speak on the question of construction of the Nagymaros hydroelectric power station, those who it immediately and vitally concerns—the people of this part of the country—because, so far, no one has questioned them about anything. The decisions have been made without them." [passage omitted]

The forum is opened by Ferenc Niedermuller, chairman of the community council. He calls for a frank exchange of opinions conducted in the right form and for respect for the principles of political culture. He appeals for democracy, because the opponents of the project receive broad publicity in the mass information and propaganda media, while the publicity received by its supporters is minimal. "One is almost afraid of expressing one's opinion," he says and casts doubt on the favorite claim of the opponents of the project that they express the national interest. Finally, he outlines what a construction stop would mean for the community—it would remain an unfinished building site and promised development projects would not be implemented, to say nothing of the lost jobs.

"Cui prodest"—who gains by it? This is how Nagy Andras Szollos, chief editor of the specialist journal HIDROLOGIAI KOZLONY and a member of the Pal Vasarhelyi Society, entitles his speech. [passage omitted]

The society actively supports the construction of the system of hydropower projects on the Danube. Chief editor Szollos sketches the history of the idea to dam the Danube (the first plan dates back to 1900 and the first design to 1935), rejecting the accusation that it is a "Stalinist fixed idea." He mentions the results and findings yielded by some 1,200 studies and technical measurements (no analogous project in the world had been prepared as thoroughly), enumerates the multiple benefits of the project (it will provide the cheapest form of electricity, will protect hundreds of billions worth of property against flooding, will eliminate places that are critical for river navigation), and, one by one, by means of conclusive evidence, refutes the opponents' objections. [passage omitted]

The next to take the floor is Doctor Ferenc Szabo, an expert on international law. He explains the legal consequences which a failure to build the Nagymaros section would have. He mentions the Vienna convention on international treaties, which Hungary joined in 1988, and concludes that an abandonment of the project lacks a legal foundation, that the possibility of a one-sided abrogation of the agreement does not exist. With respect to the Austrian subcontractors, the relevant provisions of the Austrian general civil code would apply, under which the customer (that is, the Hungarian investor) would have to pay the entire value of the order (5.75 billion shillings), minus items which the supplier would demonstrably be able to save. The burden of proof would be upon the Hungarian side. [passage omitted]

Next comes the screening of a short video film, entitled "Legacy," the film's first screening in Hungary. It is addressed to those who are spreading the illusion that the financial obligations arising from a possible cancellation of construction would be assumed for Hungary by Americans of Hungarian origin. Bishop Tibor Domotor, chairman of the committee of their association, and others speak in the film. They speak skeptically. A fund-raising campaign in support of refugees from Romania is being organized already and its effect is minimal. And now billions would be needed. It is questionable whether Hungarian television will show this legacy of realistically thinking compatriots overseas.

"The investment at Nagymaros has become prey to political speculation," Istvan Toth, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party primary organization No 5 in the 12th Budapest district, says at the outset of his statement. He speaks about forces behind the scenes that are trying to divide society and to divert the public's attention from the country's genuine problems. [passage omitted] The speaker continues by enumerating government measures which were adopted and subsequently dropped and by proposing that also the decision of 13 May be revised and the project completed. The appeal of his party organization, which is addressed to the general public, states: "There is no such thing as a separate Nagymaros hydropower project but only a single, inseparable Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system, which is shared Czechoslovak-Hungarian property. How can we stop the construction of Nagymaros when Czechoslovakia has already built the much greater part on its own side?

Small groups of opponents of construction proceeding from low, personal interests would like to drag the country into such perfidy...." [passage omitted]

A representative of the Czechoslovak side, Engineer Jozef Oblozinsky, deputy director in charge of investments of the Hydraulic Engineering Works in Bratislava, is also asked to speak. He explains the Czechoslovak position that the project must be completed. As far as the question of the construction of effluent treatment plants is concerned, he says that the relevant protocol has already been drafted but that to date the Hungarian side has not signed it. [passage omitted]

The next day I scrutinize the central dailies. Apart from NEPSZABADSAG, none of them publishes even one line about the rally at Nagymaros. Meanwhile, a report is read in the radio news about a motion to recall a certain parliamentary deputy from Budapest. One of the reasons mentioned is his support for the construction of Nagymaros.

The time of the breaking of the bread will come soon.

Extradition Agreement Signed With SFRY 23 May

LD2305175189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] An agreement between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia on mutual extradition of those directed to serve their sentences of deprivation of freedom was signed in Prague today.

Extradition of Hijackers Still Called for

AU2305105389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 7

["zr"-signed report: "On the Case of Czechoslovak Hijackers of Hungarian Airliner"]

[Text] Bonn—As we already reported, in the 30 March note, the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has requested the extradition of two minors who hijacked an aircraft of the Hungarian MALEV company on 29 March; the Czechoslovak side repeated this request on 5 May. **Ivan Kramar**, CSSR charge d'affairs in the FRG, said in reference to the current situation that **until now no known steps have been undertaken by pertinent FRG quarters in support of our request.** The FRG organs have noted that the matter is under the jurisdiction of a court in Frankfurt am Main.

Regarding the Czechoslovak side's request for FRG visas for the mothers of the two culprits and a visit from consulate officials, the mothers visited their sons in the jail in Frankfurt am Main on 17 May. Two consular section officials from the Czechoslovak Embassy also met with the two prisoners on the same day. In their opinion, the two hijackers do not recognize the weightiness and dangerous nature of their deed.

Thus far it is not known when the possible trial in the FRG might take place. The Czechoslovak diplomat stressed that **all conditions for the extradition of hijackers, prescribed by the FRG legal order, have been fulfilled.**

Romanian Reportage on Ceausescu Visit to Prague

Cables Hungarian Leaders

AU2205121189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 May 89 p 2

[Telegram from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary, and Bruno F. Straub, president of Hungary's Presidential Council, on flying over Hungary on his way to the CSSR on 17 May]

[Text] To Comrade Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungary Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP],

To Comrade Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, Budapest,

Flying over the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic on my way to the CSSR, I extend to you and the Hungarian people greetings and best wishes for progress and prosperity.

Thus, I again express the conviction that, through joint efforts, the relations of cooperation and good-neighborliness between our parties and countries will register a positive development, in the interest of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples and of the general cause of socialism, cooperation, and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu-Jakes Talks Open

AU1705140289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1300 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Prague AGERPRES 17/5/1989—In the morning of 17 May talks started in Prague between RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

The talks are attended for Romania by Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs; George Homostean, Romania's ambassador to Prague, and for Czechoslovakia by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium, secretary of the CC of the CPCZ, Karel Julis, deputy prime minister of Czechoslovakia; Michal Stefanak, head of section of the CC of the CPCZ; Pavel Sadovsky, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; Jan Papp, Czechoslovak's ambassador to Bucharest.

Milos Jakes warmly welcomed President Nicolae Ceausescu, in this framework, too, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the party leadership, all the Communists and people of Czechoslovakia as well as on his own behalf.

Conviction was also expressed that the friendly working visit Nicolae Ceausescu is paying to Czechoslovakia would confer new dimensions on the many-sided cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed a warm salute to Milos Jakes, the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the friendly Czechoslovak people and Communists on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party leadership and on his own behalf.

He underscored that the visit was another telling expression of the good ties established and developing between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, between the peoples of the two countries as well as of the mutual wish to steadily consolidate them, in the mutual interest, in the interests of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation in Europe and the world over.

During the talks information was exchanged on the activity in Romania and Czechoslovakia for their continuous economic and social development, on the preoccupations of the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for building the new social system by consistently applying the principles of scientific socialism in accordance with the specific conditions in each country.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes underlined with satisfaction the good relations between the two parties and peoples which, in the spirit of the understandings reached, have seen steady growth. Determination was shown to work for the further consolidation of that cooperation, for the rise of the collaboration between the two parties and countries on to a higher level.

The talks continue in a warm, friendly atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding.

Further on Talks

AU1705200589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1922 GMT 17 May 89

["Talks Between Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes"—AGERPRES headline]

[Excerpts] Prague AGERPRES 17/5/1989—In the morning of 17 May talks started in Prague between RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

Views were also exchanged on major issues of the current international life and it was stressed that the cardinal issue of the world today was the maintenance of peace and security the world over, the cessation of the arms race, nuclear above all, the elimination of the danger of nuclear war from mankind's life. The need was reiterated for observance in inter-state relations of the principles of fully equal rights, national sovereignty and independence, territorial integrity and banned force and threat of force in international relations, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

Ceausescu Toasts Jakes

AU1805075889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0714 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Prague AGERPRES 17/5/1989—In his toast at the official luncheon offered in his honour in Prague, on May 17, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that his visit to Czechoslovakia was the expression of the upward course of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties and countries, another contribution to their further development. We assess highly the traditional Romanian-Czechoslovak relations and wish to do our utmost in future as well, for their steady development in every domain, for their assertion as an example of lasting relations between friendly socialist countries that join their efforts and actively collaborate for the building of the new system, for the cause of socialism and peace in the world, he stated.

Stressing that within the new dialogue it was noted with satisfaction that the decisions made previously were successfully fulfilled to the benefit of both peoples, Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that real possibilities were at hand for a still more intense development of the technological, scientific, cultural and other kinds of exchanges.

Approaching aspects of the international situation that, he said, continued to be very complex, contradictory and grave, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that the achievement of understandings between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of the medium-range nuclear missiles and the passage to a negotiated settlement of some issues had given mankind some hopes. However, he added, after the achievement of those understandings a period of stagnation and even of setback has followed and continues. Actions for the reactuation of the nuclear arms race take place, there is active talk within the NATO on a passage to the modernization of the medium-range and strategic nuclear weapons which, if accomplished, would completely annul the effects of the reduction of the medium-range weapons and would even lead to an additional increase of the nuclear power as compared to that in existence prior to the conclusion of the Soviet-American accord. Nuclear tests continue and activities for space militarization are extended. All this creates a serious danger for the peace and security of all nations. Under the circumstances, the resolute passage to disarmament is now the vital requisite of all mankind's future and life. It is an imperative of utmost importance that the peoples in Europe and all over the world commit themselves to firm action and struggle against the modernization of the tactical and medium-range weapons, for the beginning of negotiations toward eliminating these weapons for good and concluding an accord on a 50 percent cut of the strategic nuclear weapons, toward completely eliminating all nuclear weapons by 2000. It is also necessary that all nations of Europe work for the removal of the chemical weapons, the radical reduction of the conventional weapons and military expenditures under strict international control.

Romania is firmly resolved to do everything possible in order to help developing large collaboration—economic, technological, scientific, cultural—among all European countries and building a united Europe of peace and collaboration, President Nicolae Ceausescu said, adding:

We shall resolutely work for the broad development of the collaboration among all countries in the Balkans, for the realization of a region free of nuclear and chemical weapons, free of foreign military bases, a zone of peaceful collaboration, as part and parcel of equal collaboration among all nations in Europe and all over the world.

We speak up for the negotiated settlement of the interstate disputed issues, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new world economic order, for the consolidation of the UN role and the democratization of international relations.

Truthful to the policy it has always pursued, Romania will firmly campaign for the development of the collaboration with all socialist states, for the strengthening of the unity and solidarity among them, for work together in view of their development on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism. We are resolved to make in future as well our active contribution to the development and improvement of the collaboration within the CMEA, to the end of developing every member-country, of strengthening the might of socialism as a whole.

We also expand the collaboration with the developing countries as well as with the developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We are firmly resolved to actively participate in the international division of labour, to closely collaborate with all peace-loving and progressive forces in order to make our full contribution to the settlement of the issues facing the world today.

Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] attached outstanding importance to the consolidation of the relations with the communist and workers' parties, with the socialist, social-democratic parties, with other democratic forces, and considered that their solidarity and collaboration were of great importance in the current international circumstances.

In conclusion, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his satisfaction at the results of the talks conducted with the Czechoslovak leaders, the confidence that the visit and the understandings reached would go down as an important moment in the development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, parties and peoples, would contribute to the general cause of socialism, progress and peace the world over.

Ceausescu, Husak Meet

AU1805131189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1201 GMT 18 May 89

["Nicolae Ceausescu Meets With Gustav Husak"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Prague, AGERPRES, 18/05/1989—Romanian Communist Party general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu met with Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

On arrival at the Hrad Castle in Prague, President Nicolae Ceausescu was welcomed by President Gustav Husak. A military guard lined up in honour of the distinguished guest presented arms. After the commander's report, the two presidents reviewed the guard of honour. The state anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was played.

During the talks that were conducted, Gustav Husak warmly welcomed Nicolae Ceausescu's friendly working visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, stressing the special importance of the summit meetings and talks for the continuous development of the traditional relations between the two countries and peoples.

Nicolae Ceausescu expressed satisfaction at his meeting again with Gustav Husak and the belief that the understandings to be covenanted on the occasion would open a new, superior stage in the more powerful strengthening of the collaboration on multiple planes between Romania and Czechoslovakia.

Underscoring the high level of the development of bilateral relations, appreciation was made that Romania's and Czechoslovakia's current economic and technical-scientific potential offers conditions for an intensified cooperation in production, for a more active collaboration in the technical and scientific field, in specialization in production and in other fields as well as for the growth and diversification of the goods exchange.

The confidence was expressed that, by joint efforts, the friendly and cooperative ties between Romania and Czechoslovakia would expand further in all the domains, in the interest of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace and progress worldwide.

During the exchange of opinions regarding the latest international development, Romania's and Czechoslovakia's determination was reasserted to work, together with the other socialist countries, with the progressive, democratic, realist forces everywhere for building security and cooperation in Europe, for ensuring peace and achieving disarmament, for building a better and more just world on our planet.

The meeting and the talks were held in an atmosphere of warm friendship, of mutual esteem and understanding.

Ceausescu Presents Award to Husak

AU2305212189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 May 89 p 3

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech" at a ceremony awarding CSSR President Gustav Husak the Romanian 'Victory of Socialism' order in Prague on 17 May]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Husak, esteemed comrades: Empowered by the State Council, I take particular pleasure in presenting you with this high distinction of the Socialist Republic of Romania—the "Victory of Socialism" order.

The very name of this high order symbolizes the great achievements attained by Romania and Czechoslovakia in building the most just system in the world—socialism.

I am presenting you with this high order of the Socialist Republic of Romania for both your 75th anniversary, but especially for your long-standing activity in the ranks of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], in the leadership of the CSSR, and in the work of socialist construction.

At the same time, I am also presenting you with this order for your contribution to the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples.

We would like this high order to symbolize both the traditional relations between our parties and peoples and the joint wish to strengthen solidarity and cooperation between the parties of our countries in the struggle for commendably building socialism and, in the future, communism, and for a policy of peace and cooperation, which is a vital requirement not only for our peoples, but also for all peoples in the world.

In expressing the warmest congratulations, from the bottom of my heart I wish you increasingly greater successes in all your activities and I wish the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people success in developing socialist construction.

I wish for further positive cooperation between our parties and countries! I wish you much good health and great happiness! (applause)

Dinca, Stoian Hold Talks

AU1805125089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1222 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Prague, AGERPRES 18/5/1989—Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], first deputy prime minister of Romania, met Wednesday with Karel Julis, deputy prime minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

In the spirit of the summit understandings, a survey was made of the ways and directions of action for the further growth and intensification of economic, technical and scientific relations between Romania and Czechoslovakia. New measures were agreed upon for the fulfilment of the provisions of the long-term programme regarding the development of economic and technical-scientific collaboration between Romania and Czechoslovakia until the year 2000.

A programme was signed for the further deepening of production specialization and cooperation in production through the promotion of new, modern forms of cooperation, for the increase and diversification of Romanian-Czechoslovak commercial exchanges on mutually advantageous terms.

x x x

Wednesday, too, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, had a working interview with Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium, secretary of the CC of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party].

In the light of the summit understandings and decisions, analysis was made of aspects of the relations of collaboration between the RCP and the CPCZ with a view to developing and deepening cooperation on a bilateral plane, in the mutual interest, just as on an international plane, for the benefit of the general cause of socialism and peace worldwide. Measures were covenanted for the intensification and development of the links between the two parties, which will contribute to boosting the relations between Romania and Czechoslovakia on multiple planes.

Ceausescu Ends Visit

AU1705200789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1932 GMT 17 May 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Friendly Working Visit to Czechoslovakia Concludes"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Prague AGERPRES 17/5/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, concluded his friendly working visit paid to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at the invitation of the CC [Central Committee] of the CP [Communist Party] of Czechoslovakia, on May 17, leaving for the country.

The Romanian guest was seen off at the airport by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CP of Czechoslovakia, by Gustav Husak, president of Czechoslovakia, by other Czechoslovak officials.

Prague Predeparture Statement

AU2205121589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 May 89 p 2

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Statement" to press and radio-television representatives in Prague, before departure from CSSR on 17 May]

[Text] To begin with, I would like to thank Comrade Jakes and the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]—on my own behalf and on behalf of the comrades making up the Romanian delegation—for the invitation to visit your country and for the hospitality extended to us during our stay in the CSSR. I wish to express full satisfaction with the discussions we held and the agreements we reached.

We discussed a wide range of issues on socialist construction in Romanian and Czechoslovakia. We briefed each other on the current stage of socialism in the two countries and we noted with great satisfaction that our parties and countries have obtained outstanding achievements in building the socialist society.

It is well known that in the implementation of such a vast task, there have also been certain mistakes, both in Romania and Czechoslovakia—I do not wish to refer to other countries, as well. However, at the given time, we took steps to eliminate negative states of affairs, and, on the whole, we have achieved wonderful things.

Talking about Romania, it has turned from a poorly developed country into an industrial-agrarian one, with an industry producing 135 times more than in 1945, of which a 120-fold increase was registered after the 1965 Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] alone. Agriculture has grown almost tenfold, of which about sixfold was after the Ninth RCP Congress, and the national income has increased more than 40 times, of which 33 times after 1965.

On this foundation, we developed the country and implemented a vast program of industrialization and industrial deployment throughout the territory, which has practically eliminated the poorly developed regions, thus achieving a relative balance in the development of individual counties and areas of the country.

We have built many housing units, with 80 percent of the urban population currently living in new dwellings. We have built hospitals, schools, and cultural clubs and centers, which contribute to raising the people's standard of living and civilization.

We noted with great satisfaction that Czechoslovakia has also achieved outstanding successes; therefore, we have stressed and continue to strongly emphasize that only socialism has created conditions for such successes and for raising the people's overall development level. We have reached joint conclusions on the need to cooperate to develop socialism and improve activities on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology.

We have created a broad democratic system. As far back as 20 years ago we set up the working people's councils, which are management bodies in all units. The general meetings of the working people—of the owners, producers, and end-users—play a decisive part in adopting decisions on the development of each unit.

We have set up a broad system of local and national democratic bodies, including congresses attended by some 10-11,000 people. This is a new system of democracy, but we have also strengthened the state bodies, in the belief that socialist construction cannot be achieved by weakening the state organs, but rather by strengthening their role, in close connection with the democratic forms and with the people's participation in society's leadership. Almost 20 years ago, we, in Romania developed the thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people, meaning that everything we do must serve the people and their well-being, independence, and progress toward communism.

We would like Romania and Czechoslovakia to play an active part in developing socialism and achieving peace!

Jakes Press Statement Published

AU2305105289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 May 89 p 2

["Comrade Milos Jakes Statement" to press and radio-television representatives in Prague, before Nicolae Ceausescu's departure from CSSR on 17 May]

[Text] On the basis of bilateral talks conducted between the party and state leaders of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the CSSR, tangible understandings have been achieved on cooperation in various areas and on cooperation in production sharing and specialization. Stress will be placed on developing direct relations between the enterprises of the two countries.

The time in which we live is very complex. Each country is seeking ways and means to enhance the power of attraction of socialism. It is necessary to increase economic efficiency, develop new forms of management, deepen socialist democracy, and create conditions for the broad participation of citizens in running the country. Naturally, each country approaches the solution to these problems by bearing in mind its own conditions and specific situation.

During the talks with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we paid particular attention to aspects of cooperation in solving international problems, and specifically to our participation in the activity of the Warsaw Pact, and in formulating the numerous proposals for strengthening peace throughout the world and achieving detente in the international arena. We want socialism to become the driving force in the solution of these problems.

Ceausescu Cables Jakes, Husak

AU2205121389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 May 89 p 2

[Telegram by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Gustav Husak, CSSR president, from aboard plane, on departure from Czechoslovakia on 17 May]

[Text] To Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ],

To Comrade Gustav Husak, CSSR president, Prague,

On departing the CSSR, I wish to again extend to you warmest thanks for the hospitable reception extended to us throughout our stay in your country.

I am convinced that this visit, the talks we held, and the agreements we reached will go down as a new and important contribution to further developing the traditional Romanian-Czechoslovak relations and will give greater scope to friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the CSSR and between the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the CPCZ, in the interest and to the benefit of our peoples and of the general cause of socialism, peace, and cooperation in the world.

With this conviction, we say to you again farewell and we extend to you wishes for personal health and happiness as well as wishes for new and important successes to the peoples of friendly Czechoslovakia in their fatherland's socioeconomic development and socialist construction and in the struggle for disarmament, security, and peace.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

'Communique' Issued on Visit

AU2205150989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 May 89 p 2

["Communique" under the headline: "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu Has Paid a Friendly Working Visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic" on the visit by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the CSSR on 17 May]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/05/1989—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, paid a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee on 17 May 1989.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Milos Jakes appreciated the periodical character of the meetings between the leaders of the two parties as landmarks in the deepening of the relations between the RCP and the CPCZ, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in all areas.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu outlined the wide-ranging revolutionary changes in the Socialist Republic of Romania, especially after the Ninth RCP Congress, on the path of socialism, in agreement with the general laws and principles of socialism and with the conditions and realities in Romania. Emphasis was placed on the measures that were taken to create new forms of the administration of the economy on the basis of self-management and self-financing, to improve planning, the economic and financial mechanism, to continually develop and strengthen socialist ownership, to achieve a broad revolutionary worker democratic system as part of the management of the whole economic and social activity with the people for the people which ensures the working people's active participation in the administration of society, in the fulfillment of the country's development goals.

The RCP, which always took action as a revolutionary party, was shown to have been the organizer and maker of all revolutionary changes in Romania. Society, it was stressed, cannot be changed, strategic aims cannot be attained, communism cannot be built other than by revolutionary struggle, by continuingly strengthening the leading role of the party. The resolutions of the 13th RCP Congress were outlined along with the measures and programs that pursue the intensive growth of the Romanian economy, the modernization of industry and agriculture, the use of advanced technologies, and the improvement of product quality, which will take Romania to a new, higher stage as a medium developed socialist country. The full repayment of the foreign debt at the end of March this year was shown to be a great victory of the Romanian people, an expression of the country's economic might, and to mark Romania's full economic and political independence.

The preparations were depicted for the 14th party congress that will give new prospects until 2000 and for the early decades of the third millennium that Romania will get into as a multilaterally developed socialist country with an advanced economic, scientific, and cultural potential and a high standard of living—materially and spiritually. Currently, the Romanian people was shown to be fully committed to the exemplary fulfillment of its development programs, being determined to mark the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation and the 14th party congress by new and significant achievements in all fields.

Comrade Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke about the implementation of the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, of the economic and social restructuring and democratization program which was established by the Seventh plenary meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee—in agreement with the conditions and the demands of Czechoslovakia, and drawing from the inspiring experience of the CPSU and developed by the subsequent plenary meetings. He emphasized that the party policy enjoyed popular support, in confirmation of the far-reaching and mobilizing echo of the call issued by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of the February 1948 events.

He told the Romanian guest the principles of the new economic mechanism that pursues a broad use of the economic management levers, the improvement of the forms and methods of central planning. On the basis of socialist cost-accounting, self-financing, and self-administration, the attributions and responsibility of the enterprises, of the working collectivities in meeting the demands of society are strengthened considerably. Comrade Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CPCZ Central Committee, underscored the importance the party attaches to the deepening of socialist democracy, to the growing participation of the masses in the administration of society, which shows in the implementation of the measures for an intensification of the activity of the National Front and its member organizations, for the deepening of the self-management function of national committees, for the promotion of a policy of openness, and of public opinion information.

He also showed that the 18th CPCZ Congress has been called for May 1990. Preparations for it require an extensive political, theoretical, ideological, and organizational activity on the part of the party to step up the work of party bodies and organizations so that the energy and creativity of the working masses may be given full scope for development. The congress will review the performance in the fulfillment of the socioeconomic tasks, as well as in the restructuring and democratization process, and will make important decisions for the future work of the party and society, in the interest of speeding up the country's socioeconomic development and of improving the general standard of living, materially and spiritually.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Milos Jakes assessed that the understandings reached during their Bucharest meeting in April 1988 were being fulfilled and noted that both parties made efforts for the further expansion and deepening of Romanian-Czechoslovak relations in the political, economic, cultural, scientific, and other domains. However, the attainment of the targets require a more resolute approach and more initiative from the central and local bodies, especially from those active in the economic domain.

Satisfaction was expressed in connection with the development of the relations between the two parties, between the governments, parliaments, mass and public organizations, between counties and cities in the two countries and the determination was stressed to intensify those links, to the end of deepening friendship and developing collaboration, as well as exchanging experience in socialist construction.

During the talks on economic collaboration, the two party leaders stressed that the economic bodies in the Socialist Republic of Romania and the CSSR must permanently see to the steady implementation of the long-term program of development of economic, technological, and scientific collaboration up to the year 2000.

The favorable development of the goods exchanges in 1988 was appreciated, as well as the fact that last year's exchanges are up 8 percent over the previous year; the biggest ever in terms of volume. However, the share of the products resulting from cooperation and specialization, standing at some 17 percent, was inadequate. It was assessed that the implementation of the measures agreed upon by the Joint Governmental Commission on Economic, Technological, and Scientific Collaboration in Prague early in May would help the continuing development of the economic collaboration. It was shown that higher forms of collaboration, especially a substantial deepening of cooperation and specialization, including the expansion of direct relations between productive enterprises and between scientific research units, was the main way to intensify the economic collaboration between the two states. In that context, emphasis was placed on the importance of the "program for further deepening of cooperation in production and its specialization" signed during the visit.

Stress was placed on the need to intensify the work of the planning bodies in the two countries for the coordination of the economic plans for the 1991-1995 period, which are to be concluded in the first quarter of 1990.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Milos Jakes exchanged views on current issues of the international situation. They agreed that the fundamantal issue of our days was the maintenance of peace and security in the world, the halting of the arms race, nuclear in the first place, the endorsement of new disarmament measures, and the removal of the danger of a nuclear disaster. They stressed that the socialist countries' dynamic foreign policy, the activity of other states and progressive forces in the world were bringing some positive results, which showed in the passage from confrontation to dialogue and in confidence-building between states.

Nevertheless, the international situation continues to be complex and contradictory, with no sharp change for the better having taken place. Nuclear tests continue and so do the actions for the militarization of outer space and the modernization of weapons.

Related to that, reference was made to the determination of socialist countries to unilaterally reduce their armed forces, arms, and military budgets. It was underlined that the interests of the European peoples urged a passage to concrete disarmament measures, nuclear in the first place, the renunciation of modernization of tactical nuclear arms and the opening of negotiations with a view to eliminating them and nuclear warheads, and all arms of mass destruction.

The conviction was expressed that a materialization of the proposals regarding the creation of zones free of nuclear and chemical arms in the Balkans, in central Europe, and in other parts of the European Continent, the materialization of Romania's initiative for a meeting of the Balkan heads of state and government, as well as the materialization of the Czechoslovak initiative regarding the creation of a zone of confidence, collaboration, and good-neighbourliness relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO member states would also contribute to strengthening all-European security. In that context, the measures were outlined that the Czechoslovak side took regarding a meeting of the presidents of Czechoslovakia's neighbor states on questions of environmental protection.

The belief was expressed that, in the event of constructive positions of all participant countries, the Vienna negotiations on diminishing conventional forces and on confidence- and security-building measures would lead to results which could make an important contribution to the creation of a Europe of peace and collaboration, with the full observance of postwar territorial and political facts, to a lessening of tension, and to the further improvement of the international situation.

The heads of the two parties also stressed the need for a strict observance, in interstate relations, of the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, border inviolability, territorial integrity, renunciation of the threat and use of force, mutual advantage, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

They reasserted the need for a firm riposte to any manifestation of revanchism, chauvinism, or revisionism, to any forms of pitting one people against another, to the attempts to infringe upon the states' territorial integrity.

It was agreed that under the current circumstances it is particularly important to take concrete action to solve the questions of underdevelopment and to build a new international economic order. The two parties' and states' consistent position for an exclusively political settlement of all the interstate conflicts and litigious issues was also reiterated.

The talks also covered the situation of the international communist and workers' movement. The sides noted that the movement was faced with new questions of principle, on whose solution depend the fate and the prospects of socialism and social progress in the world. This calls for a new approach to, and a new way of understanding the prospects of the revolutionary struggle, for a scientific analysis of the contemporary problems, and for relations among parties to be set on equality, independence, and each party's right to work out its own political line, its revolutionary strategy and tactics, free from any foreign interference, in keeping with the concrete circumstances in which they carry on their activity. The two leaders asserted the resolve of their parties and states to firmly militate for the development of collaboration, for strengthening the unity and solidarity of all the socialist countries, and to work together for development in their countries on the path of socialist principles.

A wideranging exchange of opinions between parties is necessary which includes international and regional meetings as well as the upgrading of all forms of collaboration and the identification of new directions as well as a new content for the relations with social democratic, leftist, and democratic movements and parties.

The talks were held in a cordial, comradely atmosphere and had a marked working character.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, invited Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to Romania.

The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Paper Provides Data on Trade With Romania

AU1805142389

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 May carries on page 6 a 600-word article by Dalibor Macha, headlined "Our Cooperation With Romania; Stress on the Economy."

Macha states that production specialization and cooperation account for roughly 16 percent of the total volume of bilateral goods exchange. Last year, the turnover of bilateral trade reached "a record" of R703 million; "despite that, this is R16 million less than envisaged by the plan."

The bilateral exchange is comprised of mostly products of the engineering and electrotechnical industries. The CSSR exports to Romania, in particular, machinery and equipment for the textile industry, spare parts, accessories for power engineering equipment, tool machines, forming machinery, chassis for Tatra trucks, Tatra towing vehicles, computers, electrotechnical components, electrical and electrotechnical measuring instruments, "and so forth."

Romania delivers to the CSSR assembly modules for power engineering and metallurgical equipment, drilling equipment, front-drive axles for tractors, metal-working machinery, computers, vessels, Oltcit passenger automobiles, and fresh fruits and vegetables. The two countries also supply "various raw materials and chemicals to one another."

"The turnover planned for this year amounts to R729 million," Macha says in part, adding that 88,000 Czechoslovak tourists visited Romania last year.

Johanes Receives USSR Deputy Foreign Minister

AU2305105089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received Ivan Aboymov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, in Prague on Friday [19 May]. They discussed the further development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, intensification of cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, and assessed topical international issues. The reception was attended by Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

Trade Union Officials Meet Soviet Counterparts

LD1205203389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Miroslav Zavadil, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the Soviet All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, held talks in Moscow today on further cooperation of the trade union organizations of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

The two officials also signed an agreement on building a school at Spitak, an earthquake-stricken town in Armenia. The amount of Kcs100 million was assigned for this construction project from the Fund of International Solidarity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

Ukranian Politburo Member Vitaliy Masol Pays Visit

Meets Knotek

LD1505222689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] The introductory talks between Ivan Knotek, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak Council of Ministers, and Vitaliy Masol, member of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, took place in Bratislava today.

They informed each other about the course of restructuring and improvement of socialist democracy in their countries. They said that now it is necessary to create all prerequisites for the improvement of the quality of work and a better use of mutually beneficial direct relations of enterprises and organizations.

The mutual exchange of views has shown that the creation of a mutual production cooperation association, specializing in the production of plant protein and oil, is envisioned as well as the expansion of the scale of exchanged consumer goods.

Further Report

AU1905095889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 May 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by PRAVDA editor Jozef Sedlak and CTK: "Restructuring Reveals Possibilities of Socialism; Vitaliy Masol's Working Visit to the CSSR; Talks With Comrades Ignac Janak, Ivan Knotek, and Viliam Salgovic; Conditions for Making Relations of Cooperation Between Enterprises and Scientific-Research Institutes of the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic More Dynamic"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Vitaliy Masol, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], arrived in Czechoslovakia yesterday [15 May] for a 4-day working visit at the invitation of the Premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR]. He was welcomed at Bratislava Airport by Ivan Knotek, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] and premier of the Slovak SR; by Ondrej Saling, member of the Central Committee Presidium and Central Committee secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL]; by the deputy premiers of the Slovak SR; and by other representatives. The welcoming ceremony was attended by Martin Kovac, CSSR consul general in Kiev, and by Petr Kostikov, USSR consul general in Bratislava. [passage omitted]

A Matter of Direct Collaboration

The negotiations between Comrades Ivan Knotek and Vitaliy Masol, attended by Stefan Murin, first deputy premier of the Slovak SR, and by other members of the Slovak Government, as well as by members of the Ukrainian guest's entourage, were purely businesslike from the start. Comrades Martin Kovac and Petr Kostikov were also present on the occasion.

During the meeting, Comrades Knotek and Masol briefed each other on the progress achieved in restructuring and improving socialist democracy in the two fraternal countries, with emphasis on the economic and social development of Slovakia and the Ukraine. They appraised the contribution made by the many years of contacts between the Slovak SR and Ukrainian SSR, and by friendship contacts between the regions and cities of the two countries. They stated in unison that at present every prerequisite should be created for improving this cooperation by making broader use of mutually advantageous direct relations between the enterprises and organizations. However, the established cooperation relations do not yet correspond to the possibilities of the two republics. It is essential to resolutely remove everything that hampers this significant effort and to create conditions for direct collaboration between enterprises and scientific research institutes, free of unnecessary bureaucratic superstructures. There are realistic possibilities of developing direct cooperation between enterprises in the agricultural and food spheres, in engineering, consumer industry, and trade, as well as in medical care and education.

The useful and businesslike exchange of views at the meeting primarily concerned the experience acquired in implementing new forms of cooperation. For instance, 64 agricultural enterprises in the Slovak SR have current contracts on joint ventures with Ukrainian partners; the establishment of a joint production cooperative association, oriented toward producing soya beans and oil plants, is envisaged. The exchange of consumer goods with the aid of two new trade organizations, IMPEX in Bratislava and UKRIMPEX in Kiev, and of individual trade centers is becoming more differentiated. There are realistic opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation in medical care, where we are interested, inter alia, in the externship of our physicians in Ukrainian clinics. The first attempts to develop cooperation between the enterprises of the timber processing and consumer industries must be followed up. An example of a flexible development of joint ventures is provided by the KOZATEX production cooperative in Bratislava and the Promkombinat in Mukachevo, which are about to open the INTERGALKO joint enterprise. It is true that positive steps are still hampered by many obstacles, such as the monopoly of foreign trade enterprises, pricing issues, licences, and financial and legal provisions for joint projects.

Ivan Knotek and Vitaliy Masol assured each other that the governments of the two republics would establish—within the framework of their authority—the necessary conditions for making the processes mentioned here far more dynamic than to date. The Protocol on the General Program of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation and Development of Culture and Sports Between the Enterprises and Organizations of the Slovak SSR and the Ukrainian SSR in the Period 1989-1995 Through the Year 2000, which will be signed during the present visit, should also contribute toward achieving this aim.

Key Issues of Common Interest

Yesterday [15 May] Vitaliy Maslov was received in Bratislava by Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. The reception was attended by Comrade Ivan Knotek.

Ignac Janak briefed the Ukrainian guest on the activities pursued by Communists and other working people in Slovakia in preparing the 18th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress. He stressed that their attention is primarily focused on successfully accomplishing the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in harmony with the new demands raised by restructuring all spheres of life in our society, including the improvement of all forms of socialist democracy. He underscored the significance of the present visit for the further intensification and precise elaboration of the present and future cooperation of the Slovak SR and Ukrainian SSR, which is an important factor of the dynamic socioeconomic development of our countries.

Vitaliy Masol said that the present period of establishing all-around relations between the two republics is the initial stage of the envisaged mutually advantageous cooperation. He stressed that his stay in the CSSR provides an opportunity for a businesslike discussion and unification of views on the key issues of common interest.

The reception was also attended by Martin Kovac and Petr Kostikov. [passage omitted]

Ivan Knotek gave a festive dinner in Vitaliy Masol's honor.

It was attended by Ignac Janak, Viliam Salgovic, and Ondrej Saling, deputy premiers of the Slovak SR, and by other representatives.

Martin Kovac and Petr Kostikov were also present.

In his address at the festive dinner, Ivan Knotek stated that the visit paid to Slovakia by the top government representative of the Ukrainian SSR is the expression of accords jointly reached by the leading party and state figures of both countries and republics on activating mutual comprehensive cooperation. The current negotiations are conducted in the spirit of restructuring, which means new quality in the life of our nations, new prospects, and the consolidation of socialism's positions in the world. He underscored the Soviet Union's initiative toward consolidating the world peace, this basic condition of our common development

Vitaliy Maslov expressed thanks for the cordial welcome in the capital of the Slovak SR and recalled the unity of tasks and goals aimed at the progress of our two countries. Essentially, these lie in the achievement of a new quality of socialism and in its further consolidation and increased attractiveness. He stressed that the important thing in our planned cooperation is to go over to specific deeds, proceeding from the principles of bilateral advantage and the usefulness of relations.

Protocol Signed

AU1905102389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Visit to Bratislava by Vitaliy Masol, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; General Program of Cooperation Agreed on"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Vitaliy Masol, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], who is currently on a working visit to the CSSR, yesterday [16 May] visited the Welding Research Institute in Bratislava. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon Vitaliy Masol was received by Stefan Bartak, mayor of Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR], in the presence of Ivan Knotek, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon of the same day Comrades Ivan Knotek and Vitaliy Masol signed a Protocol on Joint Negotiations During the Visit of the Delegation of the Ukrainian SSR in the Slovak SR; the signing took place in the presence of Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party; Viliam Salgovic, CPSL Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Slovak National Council; Slovak SR Government members; and Martin Kovac and Petr Kostikov, the consuls general of the two countries.

Proceeding from the joint CSSR-USSR documents signed in the past, the two representatives agreed on a general program of economic and scientific-technical cooperation and development of cultural and sports contacts between enterprises and organizations in the Slovak SR and Ukrainian SSR for the period 1989-95 through the year 2000.

The Governments of the Slovak SR and Ukrainian SSR will comprehensively promote the implementation of this general program via the development of direct relations between state enterprises, cooperatives, and other organizations of both sides by deepening their production cooperation, founding joint enterprises, expanding the exchange of goods, and applying the experience acquired in production, scientific research, and the training of experts.

They will also organize joint exhibitions of products and of scientific and research results, and intensify and expand contacts in the spheres of culture, education, sports, and tourism. [passage omitted]

Masol Interviewed on Protocol

LD1605223189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 16 May 89

[Excerpts] Vitaly Masol, member of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, is visiting Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon Comrades Vitaliy Masol and Ivan Knotek signed a protocol about a framework for the program for economic and scientific-technical cooperation until 1995, looking forward to 2000.

Soon after the protocol was signed, I asked Vitaliy Masol:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified presenter in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation] What are the main intentions of the protocol that has been signed and what new developments can be expected in our future mutual cooperation?

[Masol in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation] We have come to Bratislava soon after the meeting of Ignac Janak, first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee and Comrade Shcherbitskiy, the first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee.

At this meeting of our republic's highest party levels in Kiev, they emphasized the importance and necessity to transfer our cooperation into the most progressive forms. This task simply follows from the request to restructure our and your economic mechanisms. The protocol that we have signed expands the sphere of cooperation in the economy, science and technology, culture and sport and also in the preparation of cadres. The new development is that we change over to establishing direct relations between specific industrial and agricultural enterprises, colleges, research units and collectives. This means that we want ot substitute the age-long, fruitless, and formal relations at ministry level by direct contacts between scientists, technologists, designers, and artists. In our view this will result in significant progress and impetus for all-around development in our cooperation, and consequently will also advance the national economy of our republic and Slovakia. [end recording]

Meets Adamec, Departs

LD1805230289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1930 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Ladislav Adamec, premier of the federal government, received Vitaliy Masol, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Prague today. In their conversation they agreed that both countries are not yet making use of all possibilities for the development of mutual relations. They emphasized the need for direct relations and personal contacts, discussion, and exchange of experiences on all questions connected with the restructuring of socialist society.

Vitaliy Masol ended his working visit to our republic and left Prague for Kiev.

Knotek Leaves for Visit to Croatia

LD2105193889 Prague CTK in English
1425 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Bratislava May 21 (CTK)—Premier of the Slovak Government Ivan Knotek left here today for Yugoslavia, for a friendly working visit to the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Arrives 21 May

AU2405093089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
22 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Ivan Knotek Visiting Croatia"]

[Text] Belgrade—Ivan Knotek, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, CSSR deputy premier, and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, arrived yesterday [21 May] in the Socialist Republic of Croatia for a friendly working visit. At Pula Airport he was welcomed by Antun Milovic, president of the Executive Council of Croatia, and by other political representatives of the republic. During the 3 days of its stay in Croatia, the delegation will conduct negotiations with the top state and party figures of this Yugoslav republic on ways to improve, intensify, and expand all-around cooperation.

PZPR's Miodowicz Interviewed by CTK

AU1705170889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
16 May 89 p 7

[CTK dispatch: "Poland—Tenor Chosen by Solidarity Is Oriented Toward a Confrontation"]

[Text] Warsaw—At their meeting with the press in Warsaw this Monday [15 May], Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ]; Waclaw Martyniuk and Wlodzimierz Lubanski, OPZZ deputy chairmen; and other OPZZ representatives who are running for a seat in the coming parliamentary elections in Poland condemned in their talk with a CTK reporter the confrontational tenor of the election campaign conducted by the opposition.

They pointed out the increasingly frequent appeals by Solidarity and by other organizations of the opposition, and also disseminated by the Catholic Church, which call upon the voters to strike out all candidates except those representing the opposition during the elections scheduled for 4 June. They also warned that the opposition is fomenting nationalism, anticommunism, and anti-Sovietism in its election campaign, and stressed that this contradicts the provisions adopted during the roundtable talks. They pointed out the need to step up the offensiveness of the election campaign conducted by the PZPR and its allies in the coalition, who have not yet shown any pronounced initiative.

Official Comments on Ecological Talks With Poland

AU1905084989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
17 May 89 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Question" column]

[Text] Question for Miroslav Pavel, head of the press section of the Office of CSSR Government Presidium:

We have already reported that, with reference to a statement by Z. Rykowski, spokesman of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, the Polish press recently announced, that the Polish Government is still waiting for its experts to be invited to the CSSR to assess the ecological safety of the Stonava coking plant near the Polish border. At the same time, Waclaw Kulczynski, deputy minister of environmental protection and natural resources of the Polish People's Republic, stated in his interview for the press agency PAP that the visit of Polish experts to Mala Cermna, a community situated on Czechoslovak territory near the Polish border, for the purpose of inspecting the industrial scrapyard under construction has not yet taken place. What is the stance taken by our authorities in this matter?

The appropriate Polish and Czechoslovak representatives have been discussing the two construction projects for quite some time. These issues are therefore not new, they have not suddenly appeared. In order to enable the Polish side to assess the conditions for environmental protection in border areas in connection with the construction of the Stonava coking plant, comprehensive data on the emissions expected from this plant, that was designed to use the most modern purifying equipment, were submitted to it as early as last year. Since the Polish side expressed interest in a more detailed briefing on this project, a group of Polish experts will arrive in the CSSR at the invitation of our Ministry of Fuels and Power on 18-19 May.

Likewise, negotiations with the Polish side on the industrial scrapyard in Mala Cermna have also been going on for quite some time. An inspection of the site of this scrapyard with the participation of Polish experts took place as far back as November 1987. However, during the follow-up negotiations no joint stance could be reached. Whereas the Polish experts fear that the underground spring for Kudowa Zdroj on the Polish side of the border could be harmed, the Czechoslovak experts believe that the scrapyard is safe. That is why the plenipotentiaries for border waters of the Governments of the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic again discussed this scrapyard on 20-24 March 1989. The next meeting between the Czechoslovak and Polish experts will be held in Nachod on 23 May 1989.

Talks Continue

LD1905220189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] The joint talks between Czechoslovak and Polish experts on environmental issues in connection with the construction of the new coking plant at Stonava in the Karvina District near the state border with Poland continued in Havirov today. The Polish guests had the opportunity to carry out a detailed inspection of the Jan Sverma Coking Works in Ostrava and the Czechoslovak Army Coking Works in Karvina, which are to close after the more up-to-date and cleaner plant is completed, thus contributing to the improvement of the environment along the borders. The experts also briefed each other on the spot of the new coking plant about the control and monitoring of the purity of air and waters. It was stressed that the plant respects all strict norms of protecting the environment.

However, during today's talks the lack of clarity of the Czechoslovak and Polish hygiene norms was manifested. The relevant data will be made more precise in the near future. The talks will continue next week.

Coking Plant Protested

AU2305120889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 2

[Report by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Karol Mikulka: "Talks on Stonava Will Continue"]

[Text] Karvina—The 2-day joint talks between our experts and Polish experts pertaining to the protection of the environment in the area of the future coking plant in Stonava in the Karvina area ended in Havirov on Friday [19 May] without the two sides reaching agreement regarding the assessment of the purity of the atmosphere and sewage water.

The talks were attended by Polish representatives of the Ministries of Industry, and of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources, and by coking industry experts and representatives of the national councils from the border region neighboring on the Karvina District. The talks were marked by the two sides' differing standpoints as regards the exactingness of the indexes of norms ensuring the protection of the environment.

The Czechoslovak side made great efforts to share its experience of designing coking plants with the Polish experts. Representatives of the CSSR Ministry of Fuel and Power, of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, the Ostrava-Karvina Mines state enterprise, and other our organizations handed the Polish experts a number of documents and analyses connected with the construction of the Stonava coking plant.

Thus far, the only result of the 2-day talks was the adoption of a standpoint on setting up further groups of experts, who will prepare documentation for a working meeting at the level of the two countries' ministers or their deputies.

In the meantime, Warsaw Radio reported Friday noon that a demonstration to protest against the construction of the plant in Stonava was being prepared that afternoon in the Polish border town of Tesin. Actually only an attempt at a demonstration was registered in Polish Tesin. Leaflets and slogans were put up.

Investigation of Dutch Police Action Requested

AU1805190589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 May 89 p 7

["zr"-signed report: "Investigating the Netherlands Police's Action"]

[Text] The Hague—Czechoslovakia has requested information about the course of action by the Netherlands' police against anti-apartheid demonstrators. This was reported by the Netherlands' Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Tuesday [16 May]. "The CSSR request is the first of the four stages of the new investigation procedure in case of an alleged violation of human rights on the basis of the CSCE," stated Peter van Vliet, the ministry's spokesman.

Prague's request "is not a complaint," he said further. "We will, of course, comply with the request and supply the Czechoslovak authorities with the information for which they asked," he added.

The request concerns a demonstration on 21 and 22 April in front of the laboratory of the Netherlands-British Shell Oil Company in Amsterdam, which is the target of anti-apartheid protests for its business transactions with South Africa. RUDE PRAVO reported the demonstration on 22 and 24 April. During a clash with the police one participant in the protest action was seriously injured, several were slightly injured, and others were apprehended.

CSCE Information Forum in London Appraised

AU1805102189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 May 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The Information Forum Has Ended; The Active Contribution of the Czechoslovak Delegation"]

[Text] London—The Information Forum, a consultative meeting of the CSCE participatory states, on the improvement of the dissemination of information and its exchange, came to an end on Friday [12 May] in London.

The forum, which began on 18 April, was evaluated as beneficial in the concluding speeches by the heads of the delegations. No communique was issued at the end of the meeting because, even in the final hours of the talks, an agreement among all of the delegations could not be reached on its final wording. The delegations called on Britain, as the host country of the forum, to submit the almost 70 proposals which concern the free flow of information and an improvement of the work of journalists in the participatory CSCE states to the next follow-up meeting in Helsinki in 1992.

On Friday, Ambassador Dusan Spacil, head of the CSSR delegation, evaluated the results of the Information Forum in a conversation with CTK's London correspondent.

In reply to the question on how he evaluates the forum and its discussions, he said "we are satisfied with the results of the month's work at the forum. We responded in a businesslike manner to the attempts by some Western delegations to conceal their own shortcomings by criticizing others. It was important that the majority of participants concentrated on the main aim—that is, the exchange of experiences and new ideas, the effort to improve conditions for the general flow of information and the intensification of international cooperation. That was the tone which predominated at the discussion."

Concerning the contribution of the Czechoslovak delegation to the work of the forum, D. Spacil said: "The CSSR delegation was very active. It expressed its opinion on all the principle suggestions of the forum and out of the almost 70 proposals which are its result, the CSSR is the author or co-author of 10. These concern the ethics of journalistic work, preventing the dissemination of misinformation or neo-Nazi ideas, and the eradication of artificial barriers in the purchase of telecommunications equipment. An improvement in conditions for the work of journalists occupied a significant place in the discussion and, in connection with this, our delegation announced the decision of the CSSR to alter its practice of issuing special visas to journalists and to place them on the same level as ordinary visas. This means the greatest possible speed in issuing of journalists' visas, and that is something with which our journalists do not meet abroad. Therefore, we will bear reciprocity in mind. Our course of action was greatly appreciated by the participants in the London meeting.

"The forum fulfilled its mission, it helped to reach a greater understanding and a series of issues were discussed. However, a final decision on them will appertain to the new follow-up meeting of CSCE participatory states in Helsinki in 1992."

Economy Affected by CEMA Program Changes

AU2005165289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Engineer Vaclav Pantucek, deputy director of a department at the CSSR Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry, by Evzen Stanek; date, place not given: "Prospects of Nuclear Engineering" opening paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] The CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Engineering met in Prague in March. One of the items on its agenda was the implementation and further development of the CEMA countries' joint nuclear program. In response to the wish which one of our readers conveyed to us in a letter, we have asked Engineering Vaclav Pantucek, deputy director of a Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry Department, a member of our delegation in the committee, about the present state of this program and about its prospects after the Prague meeting.

[Stanek] What has, in your opinion, caused the slowing down of the development of nuclear power engineering in the CEMA countries, compared with the intentions of the program?

[Pantucek] The slowing down occurred in the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, particularly in the years 1986-88. It is possible to say that it reflects the lower-than-planned generation of national income in the socialist countries, which resulted in there being less money for the construction of expensive nuclear power stations. There are also specific reasons in individual countries. The GDR, for example, did at a certain time give preference to the construction of some ecological projects, such as the reconstruction of boiler rooms, but now it is accelerating its nuclear construction again. The construction of nuclear power stations in Bulgaria has fallen 2 years behind the plan; in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, Bulgaria drew up a rather ambitious program for the construction of two 1,000-megawatt units at the Kozloduy power station and construction start at Belene was delayed. The situation in the Soviet Union has become complicated after the accident of Chernobyl. Many regulations, particularly decisions about the selection of localities, are being reconsidered and construction in this 5-year plan has slowed down substantially. A similar situation is to be expected in the next 5-year plan. Hungary, on the other hand, wants to speed up the construction of two VVER-1,000 units at Paks, where we will supply our equipment.

[Stanek] What is the impact of the slowing down of the nuclear program on our economy?

[Pantucek] In this 5-year plan, we were to supply, among other things, two 1,000 megawatt nuclear reactors to Romania. The Romanian side backed away from these plans in the middle of the 5-year plan, at a time when work on both reactors was in progress. This has caused losses because the reactors are still among the inventories of the Skoda concern's Power Engineering plant.

[Stanek] Is there still a realistic chance of all the capacities—and, more specifically, Skoda's reactor hall—that we have built, with a view to international specialization, being fully utilized?

[Pantucek] In 1987 the CEMA governments signed a protocol extending until the year 2000 the agreement on specialization and cooperation in manufacturing equipment for nuclear power stations. Deliveries up to the year 1995 were specified in such a way that member countries would not run up any excessive stocks of manufactured equipment and manufacturers would be able to effect timely supplies to new projects. In the next 5-year plan, we should deliver seven 1,000-megawatt reactors—two each to Bulgaria and Hungary and another three to the Czechoslovak nuclear power plant at Temelin. Simultaneously, three VVER-440 reactors will be completed to be exported to Poland.

[Stanek] Still, how will the problems in Skoda Plzen be dealt with?

[Pantucek] Work on five nuclear reactors is in progress in the Skoda plant, of which two will be used in this 5-year plan. One has already been dispatched to Bulgaria, for the first unit of the Belene power station, and the other one, to be delivered in 1990, is for the first unit of the Temelin power station. The remaining three 1,000 megawatt units account for formidable difficulties in the financial situation of the enterprise. These inventories should be regulated [zregulovany] by 1991. We anticipate that an alternative production of turbines will have to be found for about 20 percent of the reactor hall's annual capacity. Various alternatives have, of course, been considered. However, any other traditional alternative production would cause economic difficulties comparable with those existing today.

[Stanek] Given the present difficulties of all CEMA countries, is there any prospect at all for the nuclear program being developed in its original form, which foresaw that Czechoslovakia, together with the Soviet Union, would be CEMA's largest supplier of reactors?

[Pantucek] We firmly believe that preference will be returned to the nuclear program again. Other countries, such as the United States, are also considering the resumption of the construction of nuclear power stations, because of the pollution caused by the burning of fossil fuels. All CEMA countries are grappling with this type of pollution. The possibilities of generating electricity from other sources have been considered but all solutions devised so far indicate that one has to stick to nuclear power stations, equipped, of course, with elements that will be modern even after the year 2000.

[Stanek] But what would happen if, for economic reasons, we would have to replace current production by other production programs? Would the CEMA countries be able to procure the equipment elsewhere?

[Pantucek] They would. At least two countries are specializing in the production of each nuclear component. Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, for example, specialize in nuclear reactors and Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and Poland specialize in steam generators. However, winding down the production of components such as reactors, steam generators, and special fixtures and pipes would cause a severe delay in new production. We spent the entire Sixth 5-Year Plan preparing for today's production. We have invested immense resources in specialist workplaces and training specialist cadres—designers and technicians, welders, assembly workers, control staff, and operators of control equipment. The dovetailing of the production teams in the Skoda and Vitkovice concerns and in five enterprises of the Sigma concern required great efforts. A winding down of production would mean the loss of the qualifications of these specialists. The renewal of production at a later stage would lead to formidable material difficulties.

[Stanek] What will be the impact on further cooperation and specialization of Bulgaria's view, which it expressed at the last session of the CEMA Committee for Engineering, that one should abandon the practice of fixed appropriations [vazane odbery] and move toward direct contractual ties between individual countries?

[Pantucek] The governments consistently control the sharing out of specialization. This is an administrative measure, whose effect in the last 10 years has been generally positive. Manufacturers were compelled to produce in good time and quality and to meet deadlines. Bulgaria has now proposed that the importer should have the opportunity of choosing the supplier according to certain criteria, such as price. To be specific: Czechoslovak deliveries represent for Bulgaria a major item in the mutual trade balance, which Bulgaria cannot offset by its deliveries.

In our opinion, this situation needs to be dealt with at the level of national planning agencies with a lead time of at least 5 years. A way to proceed will have to be found so that everyone benefits from specialization, which has been created not only in our country.

[Stanek] Are sanctions being applied if deadlines are not complied with?

[Pantucek] Yes, it is possible to claim punitive damages in the event of the nonfulfillment of mutual deliveries. There are agreements on prices and various mark-ups and mark-downs, which we consistently apply against partners who do not honor their obligations. They, too, apply them against us.

[Stanek] What is the situation with respect to the deliveries of equipment for our own nuclear power stations?

[Pantucek] Deliveries for the Mochovce power station, which will have four 440 megawatt nuclear units, are being worked out. In line with a CSSR Government resolution of 1985, the first unit is to be commissioned in 1989. The launching of the first unit at Temelin will be possible around the year 1992 or 1993 at the latest, which is commensurate with the difficulty and novelty of problems involved in the construction of a project with four 1,000 megawatt units. Another difficulty is that in some years the investors lack the resources to purchase deliveries. This concerns, for example, the Skoda state enterprise and the Vitkovice economic production unit, which have prepared a number of installations, which, however, have not been invoiced so that Skoda and Vitkovice are getting into the red, through no fault of their own.

[Stanek] Are the delays in the nuclear program accounted for, apart from internal difficulties, also by bad deliveries by foreign partners?

[Pantucek] The production of new types of pumps in the Soviet Union did not start in time—with some deliveries being up to half a year behind schedule—which causes us certain difficulties during assembly work at the Mochovce nuclear power station. Other deliveries, coming from Bulgaria and the GDR, are being fulfilled.

[Stanek] What do we owe the other CEMA countries? Some time ago, for example, it was claimed in the Bulgarian press that we are to blame for the slowing down of construction at the Belene nuclear power station.

[Pantucek] I do not remember any problems on our part with the fulfillment of contracts concerning the Belene nuclear power station. We have recently dispatched the pressure vessel of the nuclear reactor. It is not yet needed at the building site and the Bulgarian side itself is having difficulties with premises for its unloading and with additional equipment for it. We have also concluded with the Bulgarian People's Republic contracts for various special fixtures, which we are fulfilling. However, the Bulgarian partners want to have some deliveries that are not manufactured within the framework of specialization. This concerns the production of pipes and shaped parts in the Chepos and Sigma Modrany enterprises from materials which the Bulgarian partners delivered with a delay. They have also ordered, beyond and above the agreement's framework, other equipment, such as construction machinery, and demand its expeditious delivery. We will do our best to accommodate them. However, our capacities are not such that we can accomplish everything.

[Stanek] Thank you for the interview.

Stepan, Parliamentarians Visit Britain, Ireland

LD1905084189 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Integrity and openness of talks between a delegation of Czechoslovak parliamentarians and their colleagues in Britain and the Irish Republic has proven the interest in making the European dialogue complete and rational. The head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Miroslav Stepan, said that the stay of the group of Czechoslovak parliamentarians has helped clear up some speculations around Czechoslovakia that have recently emerged in the West.

The visit to the Irish Republic was of an immense signficance, Stepan noted, because it had shown both countries shared views on the future development in Europe. The Czechoslovak parliamenarians, during their visit to Dublin, were received by President Patrick Hillery and they had also talks with acting Foreign Minister Sean Calleary and General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland Michael O'Riordan.

Arrive in Dublin

AU1905160089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 May 89 pp 6, 7

["(ros)"-signed dispatch: "Ireland: First Visit of Czechoslovak Deputies"]

[Text] London/Dublin (By our special reporter)—The delegation of deputies of the Foreign Affairs Committees of the Federal Assembly Chamber of Nations and Chamber of People, led by Miroslav Stepan, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of People, arrived in Dublin from London on an official visit to Ireland on Wednesday [17 May] afternoon. This is the first visit by any of our deputies to Ireland in the entire history of our mutual relations. The visit is taking place at the invitation of Sean Treacey, speaker of the House of Representatives of the Irish Parliament. The Czechoslovak delegation was welcomed at Dublin Airport by Jim Tunney, deputy speaker of the House of Representatives.

In the morning of the same day, the delegation of deputies of the Foreign Affairs Committees of the Federal Assembly visited the Science Park in Cambridge, England's university city about 80 km outside London. The park project was started in 1970 and is being carried out within the framework of one of the most significant colleges at Cambridge University. The purpose of the project is to stimulate the advance and implementation of developed technologies by combining the interests and means of industrial firms and scientific facilities as best as possible.

Later the deputies met Desmond J.O. Malley, head of the Progressive Democratic Party, and visited the Irish Parliament, into which they were led by Sean Treacey, speaker of the House of Representatives; he is chairing the House sessions in the current legislation period. The Czechoslovak deputies also had a discussion with Mrs Tras Honan, speaker of the Senate of the Irish Parliament.

At a dinner given by S. Treacey in honor of the Czechoslovak guests, M. Stepan expressed satisfaction with the first meeting between the deputies of the two countries and with the cordial welcome accorded to the delegation. He pointed out the broad possibilities for Czechoslovak-Irish cooperation, which is characterized, among other things, by the fact that the trade turnover between our countries has increased almost 130 percent during the past 5 years.

Talks Held in Ireland

AU2205143589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
19 May 89 p 1

[Jiri Roskot dispatch: "Delegation of CSSR Federal Assembly Deputies Received by Irish President; Interest in Expanding Contacts Between the Two Countries"]

[Text] Dublin (By our special reporter)—The delegation of the Foreign Committees of the CSSR Federal Assembly, led by Miroslav Stepan, chairman of the Foreign Committee of the Chamber of People, was received by Irish President Patrick Hillery in Dublin on Thursday [18 May].

During the talks, bilateral interest was expressed in opening and carrying on a Czechoslovak-Irish dialogue and in seeking ways of filling the new scope that is thus opened up with cooperation in the political, cultural, and economic spheres.

Concurrent or similar views and stances were expressed on a number of issues, for instance on new thinking in international relations and on issues concerning European developments involving the imperative need to build up confidence.

President Hillery recalled the experience acquired in implementing the detailed economic agreement between the Soviet Union and Ireland. He called for a study of specific opportunities for Czechoslovakia not only to become more actively involved in air transportation, but also to increasingly cooperate in the spheres of culture, the fishing industry, and the leather processing industry. He highly praised the contribution made by Czechoslovak tractor imports and expressed the conviction that it is possible to further expand our strong contribution to satisfying the needs of Irish agriculture.

On the same day M. Stepan met Michael O'Riordan, chairman of the Communist Party of Ireland. The Czechoslovak deputies also talked to Dick Spring, chairman of the Labor Party, in the presence of Jan Fidler, CSSR ambassador to Britain.

Later the Czechoslovak deputies inspected the MOTOKOV-Ireland mixed Czechoslovak-Irish company, which sells about 800 ZETOR tractors annually, as well as tires and agricultural tools. In the afternoon of the same day the Czechoslovak deputies met with Alan Dukes, chairman of Fine Gael, one of the opposition parties. Later they were received by acting Foreign Minister Sean Calleary. After that, the delegation concluded its visit to Ireland and departed for Prague.

Cypriot Delegation Meets Husak, Departs

LD1605204289 Prague CTK in English
1910 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Prague May 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here today a visiting delegation of representatives of the Cypriot political parties.

In a friendly discussion, they appreciated the two countries' relations which are traditionally good. The Cypriot representatives also highly appreciated Czechoslovakia's interest in a just solution to the Cypriot problem, and stressed the significance of the current meeting in Prague which is the first meeting of the Cypriot political parties of the two communities since the division of Cyprus.

The Cypriot guests expressed gratitude for the conditions prepared for the meeting by Czechoslovakia as well as for the possibility to get a profound knowledge on the function of the Czechoslovak Federation.

The members of the Cypriot delegation were also received by Chairman of the International Union of Students Josef Skala and General Secretary of the Students' Union Yeoryios Mikhalidis.

In a discussion, the Cypriot representatives highly appreciated the pioneer role of the Students' Union in making the two communities understand each other better. Under discussion were new initiatives of the union, including the support for formation of a Cypriot university as a (?common) centre of education for both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Later in the day, the Cypriot delegation which paid a six-day visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee left.

'Communique' Published

LD1605210289 Prague CTK in English
1938 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Prague May 16 (CTK)—All leading representatives of the Cypriot political parties think that the meeting in Prague was very useful and constructive since they were given an oportunity to exchange views on important aspects of the Cypriot problem, said a communique published here today.

The leading officials stressed that they thought their meeting was not an alternative and that it should not be considered as such. They had also identical views on the fact that these meetings provide for better understanding not only between leading officials of political parties but also among people. They also stressed that, despite the problems, it is necessary to settle the Cypriot problem as soon as possible. The Cypriot representatives believe these meetings are useful and agreed to continue to organize them, deciding that the first meeting will take place in Nicosia on May 16 and 17, 1989.

Lenart Receives Cypriot Party Delegation

LD2205153989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Jozef Lennart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, received in Prague today a delegation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus led by its secretary general, Dhimitrios Khristofias.

They briefed each other on the development of the situation in their countries and parties and examined the standard of mutual relations. They noted a high level of understanding, trust, and cooperation and expressed determination to continue their further development.

Youth Delegation Departs for PRC 19 May

AU2405082489 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20 May 89 p 1

["or"-signed report: "Delegation of the Socialist Youth Union Leaves for China"]

[Text] Prague—A delegation of the SSM [Socialist Youth Union] headed by Vasil Mohorita, member of the Secretariat of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the SSM Central Committee, left for an official visit to China by air yesterday [19 May]. The visit is taking place at the invitation of the Central Committee of China's Communist Youth League [CYL] and is the culmination of the 2-year process of complete normalization of relations between the SSM and the CYL. Experience will be exchanged during the 1-week visit, and all forms of the further development of cooperation will be concretely discussed.

Jakes Meets With Norwegian Communist Party Leader

LD1805223289 Prague CTK in English 1738 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Prague May 18 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes held talks here Thursday with Chairman of the Norwegian Communist Party Kaare Andre Nilsen, who arrived in Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

The two representatives discussed the present level of relations and cooperation between the Czechoslovak and Norwegian Communists and expressed bilateral interest in their further development. Analysing the situation in the international communist and workers' movements, they called for the strengthening of cooperation between communist, left-wing, workers' and progressive movements.

Milos Jakes and Kaare Andre Nilsen exchanged views on international topics and appreciated the contribution of the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting to the overall stability of international relations. They stressed the need for a more intensive deepening of peaceful cooperation and forming good neighbourly relations in Europe.

Fojtik Addresses North Bohemia Activists

LD1805204489 Prague CTK in English 1627 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Usti Nad Labem, North Bohemia, May 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Fojtik spoke here today of the tasks of the party's ideological work at present when socialism is experiencing a very complicated period of transition to a new stage of development.

He stated that the currently required offensive character of propaganda must be determined above all by a principled approach to the path Czechoslovak society has gone through so far. He stressed the need for a clear defence of the values of socialism. "Defending them means mainly to defend the past and condemn what discredited the party and socialism...while not permitting principled criticism of the past to grow into a justification of counter-revolution, however camouflaged, and attempts to revive its ideological platform. This also means defending the present and clarifying the indispensability and irreversibility of the process of restructuring and democratization," Jan Fojtik said.

He stressed "We shall strive to bring restructuring to success on the platform of the national front, the political system created in this country by the revolution."

Jan Fojtik further said that the difficulties socialism is experiencing are undoubtedly a consequence of the fact that the new needs of development were not always reacted to adequately and in time. He expressed the conviction that the path of extensive changes will further strengthen socialism. The process of democratization must be a dialogue, a dialogue with all who want to take active part in it and have a constructive approach to it. "After all, democratic traditions belong to the foundations on which we shaped our socialist society and rank among the specific features of our development."

Stepan Addresses Socialist Youth Union Conference

AU1805130989 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 15 May 89 p 1

["(JET)"-signed report: "In Still and Stormy Waters"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Prague: A Considerably Heated Debate

The environment and apartments. These were perhaps the most common topics in the "Socialist Youth Union" [SSM] part of the proceedings of the joint city conference of the SSM and Pioneer Workers in Prague, held in the J. Fucik Park of Culture and Repose. The discussion around them, of course, reverberated in the conclusions of the conference. The delegates demanded a greater flow of information to the public on the state of the environment in the capital city and on the decisions which concern it; they also demanded consistent public control of interventions in ecological structures. They recommended that the prepared amendment to the housing bill be submitted to a public discussion, and they stated in a resolution that they want to directly participate in the drafting of the procedural regulations for this bill, valid for Prague. [passage omitted]

A desire not only to raise one's hand but also to take part in decisions marked the atmosphere of the proceedings. Unfortunately, due to the incompletely mastered preparation of the conference and due to the shortcomings in its management, a great part of this effort concentrated on discussions around procedural questions and sometimes even on unnecessarily heated polemics. For the same reasons, the conference between SSM members and the pioneer workers failed to achieve harmony. Thus, it then resulted in two completely separate and concurrent debates which, in this case, did not contribute much to the unity of the children's and the youth organization.

M. Stepan, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, was present at the conference. In his contribution to the discussion he acquainted the delegates with the important changes brought by restructuring to the capital city. He said that every honest young person is seeking his place and the full implementation of his capabilities in this process. The SSM must help him in this seeking and finding. He mentioned that the basic criteria for success today are the results of the work of each individual and collective and that it is necessary to purposefully link essential activity and the desire to help with criticism of shortcomings. However, he emphasized that various demagogic voices are being raised which are taking advantage of the complicated situations and are trying to disorient young people and lead them in another direction. They occur not only in the political sphere but also in ecological issues when priority is often given to eradicating the consequences before eradicating the causes. At the end of his speech he highlighted the necessity of building a common European home, in the spirit of the words of Mikhail Gorbachev which he pronounced during his stay in our capital city in 1987. Prague and its youth ought to contribute to this, said M. Stepan.

Martin Ulcak has become the new chairman of the SSM City Committee and Lubomir Jakes was elected chairman of the City Council of the SSM Pioneer Organization. [passage omitted]

Objections to Draft Planning Law Raised

AU1805171989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 May 89 p 2

["CTK, nn"-signed report: "On Changes in Planning"]

[Excerpts] Prague—[Passage omitted] The main item on the agenda of Tuesday's [16 May] joint meeting of the Planning and Budget Committees of the Federal Assembly's People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations was a discussion of the government-sponsored draft law on national economic planning. Vaclav Vertelar, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission, briefed the deputies on its crucial principles and key elements.

Afterward, the deputies heard a report evaluating the standard of the law's preparation, which was compiled by a working commission composed of Federal Assembly and National Council deputies and experts from the theoretical field and the production practice. [passage omitted] At its very first session, the working commission reached the conclusion that the document submitted to it does not conform in all respects with the new approaches to planning processes and that in some parts its wording is at odds both with the law on state enterprises and with the CSSR Constitution. Therefore a demand was made that the draft be revised. In the revised version, the overwhelming majority of comments was taken into consideration.

In spite of this, during the joint meeting of the planning and budget committees on Tuesday, the eight deputies who spoke in the debate on the draft law put forward around 50 additional suggestions. Most of them concerned the sections on mandatory state plan targets and, in particular, state orders. [passage omitted]

V. Vertelar managed to explain most contentious issues. Differences of opinion surfaced, in particular, in those areas in which the long-term intentions and aims of the new economic mechanism clash with the solution of short-term current problems of our economy, especially problems concerning the restoration of balance on the production assets and consumer goods markets, the improvement in supplier-user relations, and the implementation of necessary structural changes in our national economy. After an improvement in this situation is effected, it will be possible to reduce, for example, the number of allocations or mandatory indicators and, thereby, to reinforce the economic independence of economic organizations. [passage omitted]

The same day members of both chambers' agricultural and food committees discussed at a joint meeting the drafts and principles of several laws concerned with the restructuring of the economic mechanism. [passage omitted] The deputies' questions were answered by Jaromir Algayer, federal minister of agriculture and food. Asked by Deputy Dana Kancirova about the solution of limits on diesel oil consumption by agricultural enterprises, he replied that they will be abolished effective 1 July this year. [passage omitted]

New Telecommunication Link With Austria

AU2305111789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 2

[CTK report: "New Telecommunication Link Between Ceske Budejovice and Linz"]

[Text] Cesky Krumlov—A new coaxial cable of international telecommunication connection between Ceske Budejovice and Linz in Austria went into operation in Kaplice in the Cesky Krumlov district. The new link was built on the basis of negotiations between the CSSR and Austrian telecomunication authorities. It is an improvement in the telephone and other connections between Prague and Vienna, as well as the transit communication via the two countries to southern and northern Europe. The facility took 3 years to build and its capacity corresponds to the ever-increasing demands of international communications, which are annually growing 13 percent in the direction from the CSSR to Austria, and 10 percent in the opposite direction.

Computer Contract Signed With French Firm

AU2305105189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone...." column]

[Text] A contract between Skodaexport Prague and the French firm Gixi, which is member of the COMEF company and L'Electricite de France (a French electricity company) for delivery of computers has been signed in Prague. The equipment, worth Fr20 million, will be delivered to the CSSR this year. It will be used by the Prague Energoprojekt—that is, the designer of our nuclear power plants.

Joint Insurance Venture Signed With Bloc Firms

AU2305105489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone...." column]

[Text] Representatives of five insurance companies from Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, Poland, and the USSR signed an agreement in Prague on the establishment of a joint venture—the Insurance Company of the Socialist States. The enterprise will be working on the principle of strict economic accountability. It will concentrate on large business transactions, which could in case of a damage exceed the financial and foreign exchange possibilities of the individual insurance companies of the participant countries.

U.S. Reaction to Soviet Initiative Viewed

AU2405120589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 May 89 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Agreement and Phrases"]

[Text] The new Soviet initiative on disarmament in Europe is being met with great approval from all over the world. The announcement of the unilateral withdrawal of 500 warheads of tactical nuclear weapons and the offers to reduce the armed forces and conventional armaments on both sides to a large extent and to withdraw all nuclear ammunition from the territory of the allies of the USSR and the United States are further proof of the determination of socialism to do everything for the continuation of the disarmament process. People in east and west, north and south should be able to live in security, and without having to worry about a devastating military conflict.

All those who want a more secure peace have interpreted the Soviet initiative in exactly this way. In view of the unanimous echo, the Western capitals also welcomed it as a step in the right direction. However, it was immediately stated in Washington that negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons are still not desired. And Bonn assisted by rejecting a third zero solution. Nor did the NATO secretary general propose anything more sensible either.

"It is a pitiful sight which our Western alliance is presenting from the political point of view at the moment," the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU commented on this foolish reaction. It is not enough to only talk of steps in the right direction all the time and to do nothing, it was stated. Even BILD turned against the U.S. President in its headline: "Now It Is Your Turn, Mr Bush!"

Indeed. Now Washington and NATO have to take action at last. Disarmament cannot work if one party always makes new offers, while the other can only offer slogans and carries on rearming. The moment of truth came a while ago, although people in the Brussels NATO Headquarters apparently do not understand this. He who is stalling about the most important question of our time—which is how securing peace is understood everywhere on our continent—needs not be surprised if a dog will not take a piece of bread from him.

Although U.S. Secretary of State Baker was the first person to whom the Soviet initiative was explained in Moscow, he thought he could discredit it by calling it "apparently intended for the public." Yes, but for whom else? For whom are the missiles in the FRG, which Washington wants to "modernize" in all events, intended? The public, that is, people who are represented in their basic vital interests by peace initiatives of socialism but who feel increasingly threatened by NATO's fanatical clinging to the hellish devices. This may not please some politicians in the West—yet it is a fact.

Statement Published on Jaruzelski Visit

LD2305174989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—With the meeting between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the documents signed, new, important steps have been taken to further strengthen all around GDR/Polish cooperation and the traditional friendship between the peoples. The GDR party and state leadership confirms this in a statement published today on the results of the friendly meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, on 22 May 1989, in Berlin. They fully approved of the results of this meeting, and thanked Erich Honecker for the work he did.

The detailed talks between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski continued the proven practice of regular, trusting meetings at the highest level. Thus, the friendship and the alliance between the SED and the PZPR on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in varying conditions of development were extended and strengthened, according to the statement.

There was detailed discussion of how the political, economic, and scientific-technical potential of both countries could be used yet more effectively for the socialist development in the GDR and in the Polish People's Republic. The statement also welcomes the development of direct relations between party organizations of the SED and the PZPR, state organs, mass organizations, and working teams.

Of particular importance for the friendship between the two peoples was the implementation of the friendship work between the GDR and Polish youth, and also the continuation of children and youth exchanges.

The statement finally emphasizes that the GDR and the Polish People's Republic should further coordinate and strengthen their activities for securing peace, for continuing the disarmament process, and for creating trust and peaceful cooperation among the countries and peoples of Europe. This would have a positive effect on the stability and security of Europe.

Honecker Welcomes Mozambican Leader on Arrival

LD2405093489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0842 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Joaquim Alberto Chissano, president of the Fremlimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, arrived in Berlin today on a 3-day official friendship visit to the GDR. He is taking up an invitation from

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unionist Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, who warmly welcomed his guest at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport.

Other members of the GDR party and state leadership were present to welcome the African statesman.

CPSU Central Committee Study Delegation Visits

AU2405100389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 May 89 p 6

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—A study delegation of the CPSU Central Committee headed by Yuriy Karasev, deputy head of the Scientific-Technical Policy Subdepartment of the Socioeconomic Department, was in the GDR from 16 to 20 May 1989.

The Soviet delegation studied experiences of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the seventh session of the SED Central Committee in the field of management, planning, and stimulating science and technology and acquainted itself with concrete examples from the practical work of leading combines of machine-building and electronics.

Hermann Poeschel, Central Committee member and director of the Research and Technical Development Department, briefed the Soviet guests about results and topical tasks of the GDR in mastering scientific-technological progress, in particular in the widespread introduction and efficient application of the key technologies. Ensuring the capacity of the GDR's national economy decisively depends on successfully solving this task. At the same time, this lays the foundation for continuing the tested policy of the unity of economic and social policy, an important basic principle of the preparation of the 12th SED Congress.

Yuriy Karasev reported on the work of the CPSU to implement the decisions of the 27th Congress and the 19th Party Conference, in particular in the field of science and technology. The partners in the talk stressed the usefulness of the intensive exchange of views and experiences and of getting acquainted with specific examples from practical work and came out in favor of continuing and deepening the mutual exchange.

SED, SEW, DKP Publish Antifascist Appeal

AU2405083889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 May 89 p 1

["Joint Appeal by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the German Communist Party, and the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin"]

[Text] With deep concern we communist parties on German soil address all peace-loving and antifascist-democratically minded people in Europe.

In the year of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, which was unleashed by Hitlerite fascism, the activities of ultrarightists and unconvincible old and new Nazis are increasing alarmingly. For the first time in the city's history, a party with open neonazi attitudes, entered the House of Deputies in Berlin (West). In the FRG they won seats in city and village assemblies. Now they are preparing their march across the FRG borders to the EC Parliament in order to spread their slogans from Strasbourg. This is to be the stepping-stone toward the FRG Bundestag.

In 1989—in the 40th year of the existence of the GDR and the FRG—this development again demonstrates to all the world in which of the two German states the legacy of the victims of World War II and of the antifascist resistance has been fulfilled and in which state it has been undermined.

With the GDR for the first time a German peace state entered history and became irreversible reality. Here and only here war criminals and Nazi criminals were deprived of their power without any exception and were punished by law; administrations, judicial organs, schools, and other institutions were cleaned of Nazis and were fundamentally democratized; profound socioeconomic and political restructurings were made, and thus the historical roots of fascism and war were finally eradicated. Today more than ever before the existence of the socialist GDR, its policy that is aimed at safeguarding peace and at the welfare of the people, and its antifascist role prove to be of advantage to the peoples of Europe.

In the FRG and in Berlin (West) there are strong antifascist-democratic forces that represent the will of the majority of the population. They enjoy the respect and trust of the peoples of Europe. Nevertheless, the gaining in strength of neonazi forces in the FRG and Berlin (West) is alarming. It is the result of the fact that in this part of German soil people have not come to terms with the fateful past. Over the decades after World War II there rather was a restorative process, which made old and new fascist ideologies and their supporters acceptable to society. Since the founding of the FRG ultrarightists, old and new fascists have been able to organize under the protection of this state. They have always publicly advocated the revision of the status quo in Europe with the goal of reestablishing a German Reich within the borders of 1937 or 1938. The leaders of the "Republican Party," the "National Democratic Party," the "German People's Union," and other forces of their kind openly and provocatively announce that they want to "save our people's substance and biological situation" and to lead "our people out of a still hard Babylonian imprisonment."

Decrying humanist progress, calumniating social security and democratic freedoms, hatred of other peoples, and anticommunist enmity to the death are their credo.

In an organized way, neonazi and militant groups practice civil war, terrorize peace-loving people and steadfast democrats, destroy facilities and offices of democratic parties and organizations, lay bombs and intellectual mines against monuments and commemoration of antifascist resistance and Jewish suffering. Ethnocentrist Germanomania and reactionary views of history influence the intellectual scene. This is expressed in a terrifying and shocking way in the decade-long acceptance and administrative, rightist-conservative countenance of hatred of foreigners, Greater German nationalism, revanchism, and racism. Hatred of foreigners and propaganda against foreigners are flourishing again. Reactionary ideas of the intellectual trailblazers of Hitlerite fascism are being revalued. Rightist-conservative historians are trying in the "conflict of historians" to whitewash and cover up the enormous crimes of the Hitlerite fascists and the aggression of German imperialism against their own and other people. The war of eradication against the Soviet people is to be legitimized after the event by calling it a "preventive war."

This reactionary activity in the FRG and Berlin (West) is promoted by such rightist-conservative politicians who think that extremists and neofascists make it possible for them to pretend that they are centrist politicians. Particular support is given to the neonazis by those forces that are doggedly adhering to the doctrine of deterrence, which continues to reproduce the anticommunist enemy image. In a revanchist way, they are spreading the fiction of an "open German question" and cry for "reunification." They practice ideological spying, ban democrats from exercising their professions, and criminalize activists of the peace movement. Social and political marginalization and the ideological and psychological isolation of large parts of the population contribute to creating a fertile soil for neonazi groups.

Shock, concern, and increasing protests, intensifying antifascist struggles and struggles for peace in the FRG and in other countries of our continent are a result of the painful experiences with Hitlerite fascism and its policy of aggression. The increased influence of ultrarightists and neonazis signals political dangers, the further rising of which would hinder or call into question the establishment of a common European home and of security and cooperation on our continent.

We appeal to the states, governments, and peoples, to the people of all social classes and strata, of the most varied political and ideological directions, and to all Europeans of goodwill: Be vigilant!

Twice in this century war against the world started from German soil! The rule of particularly aggressive and chauvinist circles of German imperialism produced the monster of fascism that was inimical to mankind.

The memory of the 50 million victims of the fascist war of aggression and the brown barbarism, the legacy of the antifascist resistance struggle demand: The FRG and Berlin (West) must be free of neonazi activities and evil spirit!

Therefore, join us in demanding:

—the ban and dissolution of all neonazi parties and organizations; depriving them of the parliamentary seats they have already won; no admission of neonazi forces to elections;
—overcoming hatred of foreigners, incitement to racial discrimination, and the striving for supremacy and revanche; general safeguarding of equal rights in a tolerant society;
—establishing an antifascist climate and comprehensive social ostracism of neonazism, racism, and revanchism;
—further detente in the political situation in particular by steadily continuing the initiated process of disarmament, confidence-building, and cooperation among all states to solve urgent vital problems of mankind and in the interest of building a peaceful common European home.

Never again war and fascism on German soil. Today more than ever before it is possible to achieve this and it is necessary to do so in the struggle against confrontation and arms buildup. On German soil, in the GDR, antifascism and peace are a state doctrine. In the FRG and Berlin (West) the forces of peace, antifascism, and democracy express the will of the majority of the people. In Europe antifascist thinking and acting have gained profound roots.

Together we have to live up to the responsibility for the peaceful development on our continent placed upon us by the victims of fascism and war.

Together we will be able to stop neonazism and the militarist danger!

Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]
German Communist Party [DKP]
Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin [SEW]
May 1989

Nemeth Departs for 1-Day Talks in Prague

LD2405083089 Budapest MTI in English
0900 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 24 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth left for a one-day friendly working visit to Prague on Wednesday at the invitation of Ladislav Adamec, prime minister of the federal government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Mr Nemeth is accompanied by Istvan Oszi, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Peter Szonyi, deputy minister and head of the Office of International Economic Cooperation of the Council of Ministers, and Laszlo Mohai and Gyorgy Jeney, advisors to the prime minister. Miklos Barity, Hungarian ambassador to Czechoslovakia, is to join the delegation in Prague.

The Hungarian-Czechoslovak talks which are to start today in Prague will perhaps be the most difficult and most problematic ones of the recent years, the Prague correspondent of "NEPSZABADSAG" writes in the Wednesday issue.

The recent period has seen the emergence of various sources of tension in the relationship of Budapest and Prague. These relations, which are otherwise balanced and rich, are, for the first time after a long period, loaded with burdens that may give cause to anxiety. A not negligable part of the differences of views stems from the different internal practice of the two countries, for instance in the field of information.

Not even amidst our polemics should we forget that the nations and nationalities of Hungary and Czechoslovakia are aware of their common fate. Both governments should be aware of the essential truth that our countries are interested, even in historical prospects, in strengthening friendship, agreement and cooperation.

We are convinced that the statesmen who will sit to the negotiating table in Prague today are aware of this.

To Visit Austria 25 May

LD2305150189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Premier Miklos Nemeth this week is not only visiting the Czechoslovak capital but also Vienna. According to a report which has just arrived, the premier will hold a working meeting on Thursday with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in the Austrian capital.

Leaders Discuss Warsaw Pact Membership, Reforms

LD1905204289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] Today, the premier attended and spoke at a leaders conference in the Defense Ministry. At the conference, Defense Minister Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati said that the state of discipline and morals of the People's Army is balanced and faithful to the profound changes following the reassessment of the past. After the conference, the premier and minister replied to questions from our correspondent Laszlo Muranyi.

[Begin recording] [Miklos Nemeth] I was speaking about possible savings to be implemented in several years, adjustments to security and defense doctrine which are not related to this year. Prior to the 5.1 billion forints, which affected not only the Army but also the Interior Ministry and the Workers Guard, there was a 1 billion forint reduction in the Army. And in the previous years, this plan period was characterized by reductions of many tens of billions.

We have to restructure ourselves, the Army's structure, the composition of its branches, its location within the country, and so forth; but I do not believe that I can provide the details on this.

[Muranyi] A REUTER report today says, with reference to Hungarian statements, that if Hungary wished to, it could leave the Warsaw Pact. What is your opinion on this?

[Nemeth] This is naivete, if you please. The neutrality or quasi-neutrality of a country is not merely a matter of wanting. I believe that without the guarantee of large powers, it is an illusion to talk about neutrality or leaving blocs, and I propose that we should not even arouse such illusions, in ourselves or in others.

[Muranyi] In this uncertain political situation, many people fear the Army taking power. What is your opinion on this?

[Karpati] There was talk of this here today. I, myself, asked—and I am not the first person to have asked this recently, since it has been voiced by quite a few newspapers—why this question is asked, where does it originate. It is thought-provoking. The Army, as the staff of leading commanders has very convincingly expressed, is a convinced believer and supporter of the reforms, of radical social and economic changes, of renewal. Such statements should be rejected, because they cause confusion and generate fear in the people.

[Muranyi] In this accelerated political activity, what is the opinion of the defense minister concerning the operation of various parties, or possible parties, within the People's Army?

[Karpati] I think that a society with a coalition multiparty system will make it possible for other organizations and parties which want to do so, to function.

[Muranyi] You recently reached an important decision. According to this, on the first Monday of every month, you, the minister, your deputies, and the important leaders as well, will receive anyone—let us say even from the street—if they have problems, and they have something to say. How will this operate?

[Karpati] It has to be said that to date this occurred for the most part via correspondence; this probably will change. [end recording]

Grosz Adviser on Conflict With Romania

AU1705131489 Budapest MTI in English
0939 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 16/05/1989—The Hungarian party and state leaders have not yet received any proposal from the Romanian leaders to holding an extraordinary summit meeting of Warsaw Treaty member states either in June or an alternative date on the question of 'hostile Hungarian actions against Romania', Gyula Thurmer, foreign policy advisor to the HSWP general secretary, told a journalist of 'NEPSZABADSAG'. In the interview carried by the Tuesday issue of the daily Thurmer said:

'The invitation letter for the July session of the Political Consultative Body of the Warsaw Treaty has recently reached the Hungarian leadership, but makes no mention of the proposal. The Hungarian side forms its opinion on officially announced intentions and not on rumours. However, both Hungarian leaders and public opinion would definitely reject such an official proposal from the Romanian side and consider it an outstanding sign of unfriendliness.'

'The agenda of the Political Consultative Body cannot include any item that is not approved by any one country. I would even venture to say that the inclusion on the agenda of an issue directed against Hungary would draw disapproval not only from us, but also from many of our allies. WTPCB [presumably Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Body] has never dealt with a complaint lodged by a state against another state. Our starting point is the treaty as drawn up in 1955. This declares that should an armed attack be launched against any state in Europe, the other member states would provide immediate help. This basic function of the treaty is still valid today, and I do not think it would be right to jeopardize this fundamental function of safeguarding the security of member states with bilateral debates and political and ideological conflicts.'

Mr Thurmer also referred to the first section of the treaty, which contains the obligation undertaken by the member states to 'settle their international disputes through peaceful means'. This principle also applies to relations within the WT [presumably Warsaw Treaty]. Hungary complies with this obligation and expects a similar attitude from others.

'We shall continue to state our position on the issue of human rights violations, including those against the Hungarian minorities. We must be aware, however, that the settling of the nationality dispute is an affair concerning the Hungarian and the Romanian peoples, which cannot be solved either by the WT or the UN. I think it is natural for the Romanian side to look for international support. However, Romania is becoming more and more isolated from the world owing to its policy on human rights issues and ethnic minorities and I do believe their occasional accusations is an attempt to transfer responsibility to others.'

'We are ready to debate our political and ideological views but we believe they should not be a negative influence on interstate relations. As far as reforms in socialist countries are concerned, I am convinced that they do not weaken either the Warsaw Treaty or socialism, but make for the modernization of our countries which will develop cooperation within the WT,' Mr Thurmer said in conclusion.

Paper Analyzes Romania's Debt 'Repayment'

AU1805150689 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
8 May 89 pp 2-3

[Article by Imre Krajcar: "The Debtor Has Paid"]

[Text] Romania has done what the Western banking world has been waiting impatiently for months, and what Eastern Europe does not even want to believe: Romanian has finished the repayment of its debts. The general secretary himself announced this success at the party plenum in April, and the self-confident decision surrounded the fact with the glory of a "historical importance," a success that is both a fact and not a fact. It is true that Bucharest has gotten rid of a debt burden estimated at more than $10 billion, but this sum represents only its bill accumulated with the private banks, and meanwhile, Bucharest still owes some $1.5 billion to various governments and international financial institutions.

Drawing the net stock of debts to zero [lenullazas] also requires some explanation. As is well known, Romania has considerable active debts, and some of them are probably irrevocable. If they also have to wait for this $2 billion (perhaps for ever), then the light of the current announcement will somewhat pale, of course, without reducing the value of the Romanian people's performance and efforts at all.

We can understand the increased Western expectations because the Romanian leadership has repeatedly made it understood and leaked it out that it was determined to balance its repayments, and certain deadlines were also circulated, probably in order to ease the creditors' impatience. Eastern Europe and international public opinion are viewing the price of this performance with hardly unjustified suspicion, there is hardly any government in this area which would envy the sense of responsibility of this leadership which deals so boldly with the tolerance of its population.

Hearing this particular good news, a newspaper reader in an Eastern European country that is suffering under the burden of huge debts will ask himself at least three questions. 1. How did this debt accumulate and on what did the country spend the money? 2. What was the real goal of the leadership in asking for credits and what did they succeed in achieving? 3. How was it possible to carry out this impossible demand, and was it worth the sacrifice?

It seems easier to answer if we remind our readers of the circumstances in which this success was announced. Such an important announcement demands the highest ranking person to speak, and the Central Committee gave a uniform ovation to the general secretary who announced this good news. The same ovation was given to his proposal to enact the law that Romania will no longer—and should no longer—take foreign credits. And incidentally, the party plenum also approved some other proposals about the price developments, the workers share in profits last year, the rescheduling of some debts and elimination of other debts owned by the agricultural production cooperatives, as well as on cadre affairs and organizational issues. As is well known, the latter are extremely important in the practice of Marxist-Leninist parties, and almost always decisive in the case of parties that function according to the Stalinist model. Occasionally, these organizational issues could also mean the narrowing of ranks, and we would not be surprised at such a thing at all because we know from the official AGERPRESS report that they also made a new decision on the settlement systematization, a decision also adopted unanimously.

The Grand National Assembly then also celebrated the event: It duly approved the decision unanimously. In addition, a national campaign began: A carefully composed national consensus was hailed in popular meetings and mass demonstrations, and, at a mass meeting held in Nagyszeben, Nicu Ceausescu (this is not an accidental identity of names), first secretary of the Szeben county party committee, said the following about this historical event: "All the inhabitants of this ancient Romanian land support the entire domestic and foreign policy of our party and state without reservations. We fulfill our solemn responsibility when we express the gratitude of the Szeben county workers toward the general secretary of our party, the great hero of our nation." And, in the spirit of the filial love greatly appreciated in the Bucharest policy, Nicu Ceausescu also remembered to quote the general secretary almost verbatim: "For the first time, Romanian has gained full political and economic independence by completely repaying its debts."

Thus, the repayment of debts was a political act, a demonstration of independence with which Romania showed to the world what it is able to achieve under the leadership of its party and the leading group of the party. If an older dream of an influential medium-size power status could not come true, then at least have a debt-free status, a status far from being so brilliant, but nevertheless probably capable of making the hearts of the people beat stronger! This will also give cause to vibrations of enthusiastic national pride, just like the often promised large-scale development, promises made after the liberation.

Romania also needed the money and the credits for development. And the Romanian leadership will not be embarrassed by questions like "what did you spend the money on?", no matter from where these not so poetic questions might come. Promising large-scale investments were made one after the other in Romania. These investments were probably the origin of the annual 7-10 percent economic growth between 1960 and 1980 (although this growth decreased to 2-4 percent at the beginning of our decade.) More than 4 million flats were built between 1950 and 1980, and some 70 percent of the workers moved into new flats. However, in the meantime, two oil crises "roared by" and financial crises came one after the other.

Later, Romania had to reschedule a smaller portion of its debts, a few hundreds of billions, but the banking world could be certain that they would not lose their money. The obsolete economy functioning in a rigid Stalinist economic model and the population were producing for export beyond their capacity, while they were forced to lack most of the import goods essential for modernization and for everyday life.

Although Bucharest obtained credits without political conditions, it is clear that the West long ago honored Romania's "separatist" tactical policy of deviating from the bloc discipline of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. A cyclic interest emerged: The income needed for repayments originated from Romanian exports to the most developed Western countries, but an Eastern Europe not interested in a Romanian crisis did not keep Bucharest from compensating the mineral oil losses deriving from a less firm arab mineral oil market. (Romania has built up a mineral oil refining capacity of 32 million tonnes, and this is generally operating.)

In the meantime, apparently as an addition, the implementation of the great Romanian state is under way: The homogenization of the nation. (Read: drastic romanization by all means. This is also the main driving force behind the "village systematization" program.) They often declare that Romania is already capable of manufacturing the most modern weapons, including nuclear weapons, and this can easily be interpreted as a the criterion of its ambition to become a medium-sized power. At least for a certain time, the power-enforcement machine will be able to prevent and suppress the discontent, and this gives the leadership a bizarre impression that it is able to manage the possible crises with an unprecedented efficiency.

The domestic opposition to the regime, and the camp of emigrees and people forced to emigrate suspect here a loss of proportions of historical magnitude. This opposition regards as unjustified the official self-confidence manifested in Bucharest, a self-confidence that originated in the wake of this ambiguous success. Just like the U.S. economic delegation that recently visited Romania and listened with great surprise to the general secretary's forecasts according to which "the only remaining question now is conferring the U.S. most-favored-nation status to Romania." Obviously, this is a great aim, and the Romanian leadership did sacrifice a lot for this at the time.

This formula could be closely related with the suspicious practice which puts particular emphasis on the sacred principle of the "primacy of politics." And the merciless pace of debt repayment, complete with empty stores and famine strikes in Brasso and elsewhere, is the result.

Paper Views Recent Attacks by Romanian Figure

AU1905082489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 May 89 p 2

[Article by Peter Vajda: "The Lieutenant General and History"]

[Text] It is hard to believe that the lines written by Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu appeared in an official journal in May 1989. Reading this article, a visitor from distant lands would think that since Hungary is conducting such a policy, it is the Romanian national minority in Hungary which is obviously preparing to leave this country, and the members of this national minority are forced to flee to Romanian territory by crossing the "green border" at night risking their lives, hoping to find refuge in Arad or Nagyvarad. If the subject were not so tragic, one could even smile at this.

Or what about the way in which the aforementioned lieutenant general—who is also a historian—deals with quotations and with history. He quotes a passage from General Secretary Karoly Grosz by carefully concealing the fact that the passage in question refers to the Marxist classics. (Ilie Ceausescu clearly deals with the content of the general secretary's speech in the same way as with anyone else's speech—provided, of course, that this is another general secretary.) Then, with childish simplicity, he draws the conclusion which he calls the main trend of the Hungarian history: repeated compromises with the most retrograde forces, like with the Hapsburg Empire.... Why should Lt Gen Ceausescu bother with trivial things like a nation's heroic struggle against this empire in the middle of the last century, or its revolution in the wake of the fall of the Hapsburg Empire, a revolution bloodily supressed by foreign forces? Lt Gen Ceausescu clearly has a short memory: In mentioning the Third Reich, as a military historian he fails to acknowledge that the royal Romania provided Hitler with a larger force than any of his allies in his war against the Soviet Union.

He who forgets about the Iron Guard, has a particular iron logic. For him, a Hungarian government that does not accept the expulsion of people from their homes or the leveling of entire villages by bulldozers, of course continues Horthy's heritage. What else could it do?

His other argument is also made with an iron logic: The United Nations is an imperialist organization. It is made up of only imperialist countries, and anyone who turns to this organization is manipulated by the imperialists. A clear fate.

Fortunately, the lieutenant general assures his readers that he does not want to follow a road of polemics and accusations. One can imagine the type of article he would write if he wanted to follow that road.

Foreign Ministry Official on Soviet Proposals

AU2305204589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Bela Kupper, head of a main department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by S.P. on 12 May; place not given: "How Do the New Proposals Affect Hungary?—An Expert Who Participated in Shevardnadze's Warsaw Pact Briefing Gave an Interview to NEPSZABADSAG"]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze informed the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states about the new Soviet disarmament proposals and his talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow. At this briefing held in Moscow on 12 May, Hungary was represented by Deputy Foreign Minister Gabor Nagy. He was accompanied by Bela Kupper who gave an interview to our correspondent.

[S.P.] Could you tell us something about the talks with Baker?

[Kupper] It has become a practice for the new Soviet leadership to directly inform its allies immediately after Soviet-U.S. talks, and this shows that the Soviet side regards its allies as equal partners and considers it important to share its experiences with them. The same thing has occurred this time, too.

As for the substance of the talks, we can welcome the fact that there were no confrontational elements in the Soviet-U.S. talks. One can notice an advance from confrontation toward cooperation. This also applies to humanitarian issues, and this is a welcome development. We were also informed that the new U.S. Administration was showing increased readiness to settle area crises; in this respect, one can also count on mutual and parallel initiatives. The talks also focused on Soviet domestic development and on the issue of restructuring in the socialist countries in general. In connection with President Bush's planned visit to Hungary, on behalf of the Soviet leadership, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze confirmed that they welcomed and supported these contacts.

At this first of a series of negotiations with the secretary of state of the new U.S. Administration, the two sides mutually committed themselves to continue a practice according to the principles developed at the highest level and to advance. This gives hope to all of us.

[S.P.] Has this round of Soviet-U.S. negotiations brought about a breakthrough?

[Kupper] No, it has not, nor could one now expect an agreement on issues that were not agreed upon with the previous administration: The 50-percent reduction of tactical offensive weapons and the elimination of space armament. However, the Soviet side tied very serious new steps to these negotiations, and not only proposals but also unilateral measures of equal effect.

[S.P.] The proposals connected with the tactical nuclear missiles have already caused a great reaction.

[Kupper] In Budapest in 1986, the Warsaw Pact countries initiated a radical reduction of conventional forces in Europe, and their proposal also covered the tactical nuclear weapons. However, the mandate of the current Vienna negotiations of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries does not cover the latter, and therefore, the socialist countries proposed to deal with these tactical nuclear weapons in the framework of separate negotiations. Thus, we do not connect the future negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe with the current Vienna negotiations on conventional forces and armaments, but we regard those negotiations as essential because the importance of nuclear weapons is increasing in European military policy today precisely due to the reduction in conventional arms.

[S.P.] Gorbachev made his proposal shortly before the NATO summit scheduled for the end of May.

[Kupper] We heard that the NATO summit would deal with the subject of tactical nuclear weapons and that there were serious considerations to develop these weapons, something that would contradict the processes currently prevailing in Europe. Several NATO members openly voice their reservations in this respect. Naturally, Gorbachev's proposal could have an effect on this debate. The Soviet Union has again demonstrated that it is serious about disarmament and it also takes unilateral steps and radically proposes the third zero option (following the agreement on intermediate- and short-range missiles)—namely, to free Europe of all Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons by the end of 1991.

[S.P.] To what extent will this affect us Hungarians?

[Kupper] The Soviet troops stationed in Hungary have so-called double-purpose carrier and target missiles (which can carry both conventional and nuclear warheads), but there are no nuclear warheads on Hungarian territory. In other words, such carrier and target missiles can be withdrawn from Hungary, but nuclear warheads cannot be withdrawn because there are no such warheads here. However, one must add that, in the case of a conflict, which we want to avoid by all means, we could also become the target of such weapons, and therefore, Hungarian diplomacy is strongly in favor of eliminating such weapons. Besides, this is in harmony with the experience of the conventional disarmament talks in Vienna—namely, that Hungary is situated in the central European tactical zone, and, thus, the first stage of reductions will also affect us.

Foreign Committee Discusses Deficit Problems

LD2305204189 Budapest MTI in English
1905 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—During its Tuesday session, parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee studied the package the government is to present to parliament in late May with the aim of improving the financial balance.

Data for the first four months indicate the danger that the balance-of-payments deficit might surpass 1,000 million dollars by the end of the year and the budget deficit run to 50,000-60,000 million forints instead of the planned 20,000 million.

The envisaged measures, which are expected to cut the budget deficit back to between 20,000 and 30,000 million forints, would be accompanied by a social welfare package, according to which the consumer price rises should be compensated for, especially among the most needy groups.

As the second point on the agenda, the committee heard a report on issues related to the future of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project. Ervin Zsuffa, deputy minister of environmental protection and water management, said the ad hoc committee of the Ministry of Justice has reached the conclusion that the Hungarian-Czechoslovak inter-state agreement cannot be cancelled because of the contract. The general basic principles of international law serve as guidelines for the agreement. Taking these norms into consideration, the conclusion of the lawyers is that no such changes have occurred which would make it possible for Hungary to lawfully cancel the inter-state agreement. A possible referendum cannot affect regulations of international law. Thus, if the Hungarian side wishes to modify the project, then it should negotiate with its Czechoslovak partner, and the decision will then depend on bilateral agreement.

The situation is different with respect to Austria, as the participation of the Austrian entrepreneurs is set down by four civil law contracts. The regulations of Austrian law serve as directive for settling the issues related to the modification, and an elected court is authorized to decide the debate. According to experts, even the most favourable decision will not be cheap for Hungary.

The National Planning Office examined the economic effects of the construction. The main point of its position is that the completion of the project would not cost as much as halting it. According to calculations quoted by the deputy minister, it would cost some 3,000 million forints less. If the project is discontinued, compensation sums also have to be taken into consideration.

Grosz Receives U.S. Businessman 22 May

LD2205223389 Budapest MTI in English
1805 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, met on Monday in Budapest Robert Pritzker, businessman and leader of the American Mormon group. At talks the sides exchanged views on opportunities to develop Hungarian-American relations.

Cypriot President Vasiliou Meets With Nemeth

LD2305060789 Budapest MTI in English
1814 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—As reported, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met Yeoryios Vasiliou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, on Monday in the Hungarian parliament.

According to information received by MTI, in the course of cordial talks both sides discussed economic relations and reconfirmed: Progress should be made over conventional goods turnover, and emphasis should rather be placed on the founding of joint ventures and cooperation on third markets. The Hungarian prime minister indicated that Hungarian companies would be ready to participate in the various programmes aimed at developing the economy of Cyprus. The sides paid special attention to the development of tourism relations. Discussions were also held on cooperation in education, culture and health.

At the end of the talks, Mr Nemeth and Mr Vasiliou agreed to continue discussions in private, so that the president of Cyprus receive even more thorough information about the issues of interest to him.

The businessmen accompanying Mr Vasiliou met with leading officials of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce on Monday, and were briefed on the investment opportunities in Hungary.

Straub Hosts Dinner

LD2305061189 Budapest MTI in English
2045 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—F. Bruno Straub hosted a gala dinner on Monday evening in Parliament in honour of his guest, President Yeoryios Vasiliou of Cyprus.

The president of the Hungarian Presidential Council announced in his toast: The Hungarian Government has decided to open an embassy in Cyprus, in the interest of intensifying the diplomatic relations that have existed since 1960.

Mr Straub expressed his view that the visit by the president of Cyprus can give further impetus to the development of relations between the two countries. New opportunities arise mainly in the cooperation of small and medium companies. Apart from this, cooperation opportunities are also expanding in scientific and cultural life, and in education.

Grosz Visits Agricultural Cooperative 20 May

AU2305102189 Budapest MTI in English
1816 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 20/05/1989—HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary Karoly Grosz was one of those present at the meeting of deputies of the Aranykalasz Agricultural cooperative of Mezokeresztes on Saturday. He presented a diploma award founded by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives.

In his address, he announced that the debate on the agrarian concept of the HSWP will be soon put forward to the Central Committee. The essence of this would be that Hungarian agriculture would continue to be basically large-scale. The HSWP wishes to bring about a Hungarian agriculture that will provide reliable prospects and existence for the national economy, including individuals, as a result of joint efforts by peasants and agrarian professionals.

Trade Union Board Discusses Negotiating Stances

LD1605194989 Budapest MTI in English
1754 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 16 (MTI)—During its Tuesday session, the board of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) discussed tasks connected with the SZOT-government meeting scheduled for May 17 and formulated what position the SZOT negotiating body under General Secretary Sandor Nagy would be putting forward.

As the planned and actual measure of inflation affects primarily pensioners and large families, the trade unions are calling for the envisaged price rises to be put off and for over-plan price level increases to be compensated for by social welfare policy measures. The trade unions will set the desired rise in family allowance in keeping with the price trends.

As to the government's economic package, a few items of which have been made public recently, the trade unions feel that a stand for the remainder of the year can only be drawn up after discussing the whole package. Therefore, the Wednesday meeting will have to be followed by a further round of talks.

SZOT said during the session that it is aware that people are at the end of their tether, so the agreements for 1989 have to be concluded by mid-June at the latest.

Jaruzelski, Rakowski Attend Sejm Session

LD2405084289 Warsaw PAP in English 0807 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 24 (PAP)—The Polish Sejm, or parliament, opened its 49th meeting in this term of office this morning with a view to discussing last year's implementation of the state budget and the fulfilment of the five-year national socio-economic plan in the years 1986-1988.

The debate is attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. The meeting was opened by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski.

The agenda was supplemented with a report by the social policy, health and physical culture committee and the legislative work committee on the government bill on special rights of some persons to reemployment.

Daily Views 'Powerful' Beijing Demonstrations

AU2405093689 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 May 89 p 6

[Tadeusz Bardzo commentary: "The Chinese Crisis"]

[Text] A week of powerful demonstrations which paralyzed the center of the Chinese capital has ended with the introduction in one part of the city of a state of emergency that has done nothing but exacerbate the situation. The determination of the young people, now supported spontaneously by the population of Beijing, is making it impossible for the army to penetrate key areas of the city. The Square of Heavenly Peace, where 1 month ago the present protest movement was born out of demands to democratize public life, undertake profound political reforms, and fight corruption, is the main center of the demonstrations, and remains beyond the control of the authorities.

The danger posed by the chaos is obvious, just like the similarity between the present situation and recent history. However, this is nothing more than a similarity, for history does not repeat itself, and the PRC is following a completely different development path than before. A classic conflict has emerged between the political aspirations of the intellectual elite and the system of running the country that has existed for almost 40 years. Such a model has encouraged a high status for the authorities, and this status has traditionally never been questioned.

However, the rapid economic reforms during this decade have caused a major change to the countenance of the old China. Together with the introduction of new management methods and experiments involving economic zones, commodity exchanges, and even shares, a new system of values based on material success has become increasingly widespread. However, these revolutionary changes have by-passed entire spheres that are important for the life of the country, such as education, science, and culture. These have continued to function in the old way, with no changes to freedom.

Today it is obvious that these shortcomings have caused the Chinese student revolt, supported by millions of Beijing residents. The Chinese crisis, which has demonstrated the powerlessness of the authorities, calls for quick political decisions.

Solidarity Union Daily Publishes First Issues

Editorial Statement

26000487 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 May 89 p 1

[Statement by GAZETA WYBORCZA ("Election Gazette") editors in the first edition of Solidarity's daily]

[Text] Dear readers!

Here is your regular, large-circulation independent daily, the first one in Poland and, perhaps, in the entire bloc in more than 40 years. By "regular," we mean a daily which will first of all strive to impart information in a comprehensive, quick, and objective manner, explicitly separating comments from information. Thus far, we have only heard about such newspapers; now, we intend to produce them, as far as possible right now, while we still are an election newspaper, and in the immediate future, when we become just a daily.

We are a group of several dozen journalists with varied professional backgrounds. In most cases, they also include the press of the second distribution system [underground press]. The newspaper is published as a result of agreements signed at the roundtable; however, we publish and edit it ourselves, taking full responsibility.

We feel bound to Solidarity, but we intend to present the views and opinions of the entire independent community, of various factions of the opposition.

By way of an introduction, we want to explain a few things. The newspaper is small, because the amount of paper the state sells us provides for only this size, given the press run of half a million copies. Also, the newspaper is expensive because we have too little paper in order to print ads, like other newspapers, and nobody is going to make up the shortfall for us. If you want to have a free press, dear readers, support it by buying our newspaper.

Editorial staff.

[enclosed in box on page 1] GAZETA WYBORCZA
There is no freedom without Solidarity.
Price 50 zlotys. First issue (1/89). Circulation 150,000

Writer's Appeal To Support Paper

26000487 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 1

[Article by Stefan Bratkowski: "Notes in Small Print"]

[Text] This is not a perfect newspaper yet. However, it is truthful. Also, it is young: Young people have set it in motion, with older colleagues helping, within a record-short, lightning-fast time of two weeks. These young people are very ambitious, they work their tails off, and they want to produce a perfect newspaper. Help them. You, the readers, have deserved a newspaper like this.

Paper's Distribution Efforts

26000487 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 4

[Article by J.R.: "We Are Already Here"]

[Text] In Warsaw, the chase after the first issue of GAZETA WYBORCZA began early on 8 May; unfortunately, for a majority of those seeking the newspaper it ended in failure. You could buy it downtown at 8:15. But, say, at the newsstand on Grottger Street in Mokotow our newspaper still did not arrive in the morning. It arrived with the rest of the newspapers in the afternoon delivery.

Since at present only one printing plant, the DSP [House of Polish Literature] in Warsaw, is printing our newspaper, some of our press run will be distributed by the Warsaw branch of the distributing network of the RSW [Workers' Publishing Cooperative] "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch." Therefore, our newspaper will be available at the newsstands in Warsaw and the former Warsaw Province, in Lublin, Kielce, and Radom. This is for now. When the printing of GAZETA WYBORCZA begins in Lodz, Bydgoszcz and Krakow, the newspaper will be available at the "Ruch" newsstands throughout the country. This is what we hope for.

We distribute a certain segment of the press run through our own channels. Regional citizens' committees of Solidarity throughout the country will receive several thousand copies each.

In Warsaw, several thousand copies of the newspaper were distributed by newspaper vendors selling the newspaper in the vicinity of large enterprises.

The line is stretching all the way to Koszykowa Street. People are buying several, or several dozen copies; a camera crew of the American TV is videotaping assiduously; the phones are ringing off the hook—this is the picture in front of the headquarters of the Solidarity Warsaw Civic Committee on Constitution Square, at the "Surprise" cafe. They will receive several thousand copies to be sold daily. Today, 5,000 were snapped up at lightning speed.

"This is crazy," sighs head of the office Pawel Zajac.

Election Coverage, Procedures

26000488 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 May 89 p 1

[Address by Lech Walesa, NSZZ Solidarity chairman]

[Text] *There is no freedom without Solidarity.*

We wrote this slogan on our banners, and we remained faithful to it during 7 long years of operations in the underground. The virtue of endurance has been rewarded—we now have our Solidarity.

It has been barely a month since the agreement concluded at the roundtable was signed, but we already have not only our trade union, but our electoral program, candidates to the Sejm and the Senate, and, finally, GAZETA WYBORCZA, the first independent daily between the Elbe and the Pacific. It is here to stay.

Our life is hard. The agreements at the roundtable did not bring more money or bread to our people. However, the hope that it is going to get better is now a little bit stronger.

At present, we need wisdom and unity. After all, we have wonderful people. We have favorable international trends. We have the conviction that the reforms proposed by us are necessary for Poland. In store for us are elections to the Sejm and the Senate in which we are going to vote for our own candidates for the first time.

People are asking: what is next? What will happen in 4 years? We must win these elections if things are to become different and better.

I see our chances improving every day, and we are managing increasingly better. GAZETA [WYBORCZA] will make it even better.

[signed] Lech Walesa

Number of Signatures Grows

26000488 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "261 Times 3,000 Signatures. Many More Have Been Collected"]

[Text] Even now, we can state that the campaign of collecting signatures for Solidarity candidates has turned out much better than expected. Information continuously comes from all regions to the national Election Bureau of the Solidarity Civic Committee. According to current data, in a majority of communities many more than the required 3,000 signatures have been collected.

At this time, we should first of all put the lists in order, and submit them to ward electoral boards tomorrow, 10 May, at the latest. We should verify whether the consent of the delegates to run has been enclosed, and the numbers of seats have been recorded. It is more important [to ensure] that the lists meet technical requirements than to go on collecting more signatures, except if someone has not received the required minimum yet. It must also be kept in mind that tomorrow is the deadline for nominating members to ward and district electoral boards.

For now, we have to refrain from giving a general evaluation. Despite the efforts of the authorities, which attempted to run their candidates for non-party seats, the apprehension that Solidarity will not be able to collect the required minimum has turned out to be entirely groundless. As Secretary of the Civic Committee Henryk Wujec states, "this barrier could have been much higher without much effect."

The requirement to collect signatures has brought out the desire to act in people. They volunteered to help, and the network of "collectors" embraced the entire country. The [Catholic] Church turned out to be a powerful ally. In rural areas, the lists of Solidarity were passed around from house to house. In Warsaw, at Constitution Square, a tremendous line of those wishing to sign forms every day. It is hard to elbow your way into the "Surprise" cafe, the headquarters of the Warsaw Civic Committee, where the lists are being counted. We will know the results in as little as a couple of days.

Posters Go Unnoticed

26000488 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish
9 May 89 p 4

[Article by Dariusz Terlecki: "Posters Which Are Not Visible"]

[Text] On a bench in front of the grocery store on Nowy Swiat, three elderly women are selling onions and freshly cut lilacs. Above them, the entire window of the shop is covered with large posters.

"I have read nothing, and I have not noticed this before. I spend my time at home, and seldom get out, and I do not look up," says the one with the lilacs.

"They are not bright enough, you cannot see them like this," adds the one with the onions.

"These posters are so much alike," explains the third one in response to my question on whether she has noticed at all what she has been sitting next to for a week, every day.

They are sitting under announcements signed by the presidiums of neighborhood people's councils and the People's Council of the Capital City of Warsaw. The former contain information on the quantity, numbers, and function of the mandates in individual election districts; the latter outline the wards for elections, their numbers and boundaries, as well as the locations of ward electoral boards. The information in them hardly attracts the attention of pedestrians.

"I am tired. I work full time. On top of that, I've got to go to my garden parcel today. I am not interested in this."

An older man from Mokotow stated that he did not read these announcements because he already knew who he was going to vote for. He had a card with the name of Mr Milkowski from Solidarity hanging on his door.

"However, these posters can tell you a few useful things, say, where the polling place is going to be," I insisted.

"I do not have to know what the location of the electoral board is, because all the voting always takes place at the same location. In my neighborhood, it has always been in a day-care center," retorted my interlocutor. After all, the indifference of passers-by is hardly surprising, given the fact that even those who posted the announcements, say, the saleswomen, do not know what they say.

"I have not read it, and I would not know whether any of my colleagues has. However, this is, perhaps, something on the elections," says a "girl from the jewelry store."

"You know how it is, early in the morning... You are in a hurry," she explains.

In 3 hours of walking through downtown, I managed to "catch" only a couple of people who stopped to look at these election posters. A young man got absorbed in reading this text in front of the grocery store on Mokotowska while his wife was shopping.

"Well, the reason I am looking like this is that I just returned to Poland."

"So, have you found something interesting?"

"No, I don't know. I am just reading this thing."

However, a majority of those who took any interest at all in the posters had no difficulty finding their electoral district, or determining how many deputies and affiliated with whom are going to represent their neighborhood in the Sejm. A co-ed from the University of Warsaw complained that at Mokotow only one seat is going to a non-party member out of five. A woman residing downtown recognized that "one for the PZPR and one for non-party members in my neighborhood is, perhaps, fair."

Final Signature Collection News

26000488 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Today Is the Last Day"]

[Text] Today is the last day for collecting signatures. On the Warsaw lists of the Solidarity Civic Committee, every candidate exceeded the required threshold of 3,000 signatures as early as on the second day of collection. By now, our every candidate to the Sejm has gained the support of about 15,000 persons in the electoral district in question, and over 60,000 citizens of the capital have signed the Senate list.

In Poznan, the campaign of signature collecting was inaugurated by a meeting at the Arena stadium in which thousands participated. The senators got the 3,000 votes needed on the very first day of the campaign.

In Wroclaw, we already have 30,000 signatures on the Senate list, and 9,000 signatures for every deputy on the list.

Campaign Funds, Contributions

26000488 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 5

[Unattributed article: "For the Campaign Fund"]

[Text] The Employee Council of the Instruments and Fixtures Plant in Bialystok, an enterprise where the independent spirit of the workforce has spelled trouble for the authorities from the beginning of martial law, has donated a million zlotys, and has called on all self-management bodies of the region to support Solidarity.

The Employee Council of Hydrobudowa in Wroclaw has transferred 2 million zlotys to the account of the local Solidarity Civic Committee.

The Solidarity College Commission at the Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin contributed 600,000 zlotys to the Solidarity fund.

Election Deals, Tidbits

26000488 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Wheeling and Dealing"]

[Text] In Lublin, an attendance list at the meeting of the Association of Poles Victimized by the Third Reich, this time with the number of the ID card indicated along with the signature, was used as a list of supporters of the candidacy of S. Rostworowski to the Senate.

In Bielawy, Skierniewice Province, peasants purchasing saltpetre at the township warehouse were requested to also produce their ID cards, along with the tax warrant in which the amount of fertilizer sold is recorded. Particulars from the ID cards were entered in a mysterious list which, of course, had to be signed. The cheated peasants are still looking for the candidate whom they have "supported."

At an enterprise in Kolo, the personnel department [supervisor] copied the particulars from personnel files, and managed to take care of the signatures herself. In their turn, teachers in this city demanded that the schoolchildren bring the ID cards of their parents and sign up instead of them.

The command of the [Volunteer Labor] Brigade at Wola, at Erazm Ciolek Street, called in brigade members with their ID cards, which they were told to leave. As it turned out, the cards were needed for signing electoral lists. However, persons unknown did this work for the brigade members, falsifying [their signatures] left and right. Poor brigade members do not even know who they have voted for, and keep their blissful civic ignorance.

In Goldap, Tomasz Romanczuk, the director of a local agricultural combine and a Sejm deputy in the current term, decided to give himself a boost in collecting the signatures of individuals supporting his candidacy for the next term as well. To this end, he started demanding signatures from his subordinates, stating that their signatures on the list would be an important element in evaluating their work. Signatures of family members are also a plus! Equipment and people have been set in motion in the course of the campaign. Employees drive about in official-use vehicles and collect signatures—on company time, of course.

In Zambrow, two teachers at the General High School, Barbara Anczewska and Domela Leskacz, together with school director Danuta Mackiewicz attempted to induce the students of the graduating class to give signatures in support of the candidacy to the Sejm of the Minister for Relations with Foreign Countries [as published] Dominik Jastrzebski, making it clear to them that [receiving] their graduation exam certificates may hinge on it. It so happened that at this time the candidate himself came to Zambrow in order to meet with the voters. One of them informed him of the practices in the school. "This is not important. After all, I am going to win anyway!" proclaimed the minister.

Out of 48 members of the PZPR in Labniki, Zamosc Province, 40 have signed the lists supporting the candidates of the Solidarity Civic Committee.

Michnik: Totalitarianism To End

26000489a Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 3

[Article by editor in chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA Adam Michnik, Solidarity Civic Committee member, candidate Sejm deputy, Katowice: "A Specter Is Stalking Europe"]

[Text] A specter is stalking Europe, as well as other continents: the specter of an end of the totalitarian system, the specter of an end of the barracks communism.

Yes, this must be the end now. Perhaps, nothing will resurrect this system, which promised a bright future and brought terror and poverty, falsehoods and privation, the loss of national identity, and rape of human conscience.

We look around with disbelief and uncertainty. Is this possible? Are we not mistaking our desires for reality? Is this not yet another trick by the governing group? Are we going to be cheated yet again, as has been the case so many times?

Therefore, let us consider this: In politics, it is the facts that matter. Proceedings of the roundtable and the return of Solidarity to the legal scene are the most significant facts of this spring. What is the meaning of these two events?

The roundtable amounted to an act of consenting to transforming the policy of a police monologue into a political dialogue; it also actually called into question the entire philosophy and practice of martial law, which caused the people of Solidarity to be able to talk only from the underground, prison, or the dock in the courtroom. This reorientation, which, incidentally, is meeting with much resistance in the camp of the authorities, was not easy, because it had been preceded by many years of a campaign of slander against the people of Solidarity. We were offered capitulation, emigration, or prison resocialization. Assurances were offered that a political dialogue with Walesa and the people of Solidarity would never come about again.

Something different has transpired. What were the factors involved? Firstly, the economic collapse of the policy of martial law. Had stuffed wallets and well-stocked shops been the result of the military action on that night in December [1981], members of the authorities would have had no use for the roundtable. However, political changes became a prerequisite for favorable changes in the economy. Society whose aspirations were blocked turned its back on the members of the authorities.

Secondly, there is the international context. Facing similar threats, the Soviet party and state leadership opted for the path of glasnost, a great political opening. In turn, a broad campaign of denouncing Stalin has brought a pressure of sorts to bear. An essential change has occurred.

Thus far, during every Polish crisis, we heard the same thing: The Polish national character, Polish laziness, Polish squabbling, and the Polish predisposition to anarchy are to blame for everything. The political turnaround in the USSR and a clear diagnosis of the crisis which is tormenting this system have made these traditional explanation nonsensical. The crisis in Poland has come to be seen as a fragment of the general crisis of the system of totalitarian communism.

Human striving for freedom assumes different forms. In Russia, this was a rebellion of the intellectuals; in the Baltic republics—the creation of People's Fronts. In Hungary, we are witnessing a reconstruction of the multiparty system. In Poland, the relegalization of Solidarity became the key issue—only in this manner could the conflict be resolved between the apparatus of power and the movement of social opposition, which had been forced into the underground. This is why I believe the passage about "forgiveness" for people persecuted for political reasons in recent years, used by Gen Jaruzelski several days ago, to be erroneous and improper. It is rather these people who should be asked to forgive.

Let us consider this: Persecutions of the people resolving to take part in the anti-totalitarian resistance movement was a form of self-defense by the Stalinist nomenklatura against the process of democratic restructuring of the state. In turn, this process could advance only due to the people who got rid of the gag of fear standing up against the omnipotent apparatus of power, and making the truth of their convictions the power of the powerless, as Vaclav Havel put it.

They ask us sometimes: Do you strive to improve or overthrow the system? At one point, the prosecutors asked us this question, now we hear it at meetings. Here is the answer: the totalitarian system is our enemy. We do not want to improve or adjust it. We want to replace it with the order of parliamentary democracy. However, we reject the way of revolution and violence, being aware of how easy it is to replace one dictatorship with another, different one. We believe that changes under way in other countries, especially in the USSR, are our natural ally. These changes open up new prospects for thinking about the Polish way from the totalitarian system to an order based on democracy and independence.

A specter is stalking Europe... This is why elections to the Sejm and the Senate are so important. They must show that the Poles want democratic changes, and are prepared to support them with their votes. By voting for the candidates of Lech Walesa, they will be voting for Poland to embark on the road toward democracy and independence.

Bujak on Election Prospects, Union's Strengths

26000489b Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 5

[Interview with Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity in Mazowsze Region from September 1980 until now; in hiding between 13 December 1981 and May 1986; member of the national leadership of NSZZ Solidarity, by Wlodzimierz Slowinski: "I Would Like To Retain an Independent Position"; date, place not given]

[Text] [GAZETA WYBORCZA] Why are you not running for a Sejm or Senate seat?

[Bujak] The answer is simple. I want to work first of all on building a powerful trade union. Besides, the Sejm will have to make socially controversial decisions due to the dramatic economic situation in our country. After all, at this time we are already encountering attempts at boycotting the election! When the time comes to make difficult decisions, the attack will be more powerful... At that time, I would like to maintain an independent position, to be with Solidarity, with the trade union, and view the work of the Sejm and the Senate from this very perspective. I believe that in this case I will be more credible.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What is your opinion of the course of the campaign thus far? What is important in this campaign for you as one of the leaders of Solidarity?

[Bujak] I will talk about what interests me the most. First of all, political rivalry, the beginning of which may already be seen now. On the one hand, we have Solidarity, concentrated in worker and rural communities, youth and Catholic organizations—this entire broad movement. On the other hand, we have groups which are referred to in the vernacular as independence-minded. I believe that the people gathered around Walesa have done the most for independence. Our success in competing with the KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland] may confirm the view that the Civic Committee provides the best opportunity for securing independence.

Here is one more issue. If our entire ticket of 161 candidate deputies and 100 candidate senators, or an overwhelming majority of it, is elected to the Sejm and the Senate, this will not only be an ideological victory over the government coalition, but—which is important for me—an organizational victory.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Are you not afraid of competition on the part of candidates running as "independents"? These people, known almost exclusively from popular TV programs, come out overnight as social activists. They have agreed to serve the cause of taking the votes away from Solidarity. There are persons among them who are likable indeed, as, say, Zdzislawa Guca from the "Daily Panorama."

[Bujak] It is obvious that they want to take the votes away from us. Their personal motives are less important for me. However, this is exactly why I find the election struggle so interesting and exciting.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] The Mazowsze Region includes several provinces, not just Warsaw. Some are more, others less powerful...

[Bujak] The situation in Ciechanow, Ostroleka, Lomza and Biala Podlaska Provinces is much worse than in Warsaw. There are several reasons for that. It turns out that there are considerably fewer people there who are willing to devote their time and energy to the elections, as well as those who possess the skill and talent of organizers. The financial support for our campaign is smaller there. The citizens of Warsaw are making contributions in great numbers, though they are not at all better off than the citizens of these provinces.

I believe that we made a mistake at one point the consequences of which we feel to this day. In 1980, we should have created independent regions in these provinces. Then, they would not be looking to "the center." We may pay dearly for this mistake... Certainly, in the course of the campaign we will send people there and provide funds. I also count on the mood getting hotter.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] On this point, how does the mood of 1980-81 compare with the current one?

[Bujak] There are considerable differences. When the proceedings of the roundtable were still under way, and the legalization of Solidarity was becoming obvious, a mood of caution and expectation dominated. This is much different from September 1980, when a genuine outpouring of enthusiasm occurred. On the other hand, about 100,000 people attended our May Day procession, whereas thus far in the entire region 80,000 persons have joined Solidarity!

What does this suggest? Those came who identify with Solidarity as a social movement, who count on the opportunity it creates for Poland.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] People want to know when you are going to publish your memoirs covering the time of martial law.

[Bujak] I would need to secure the consent of many persons for this.

Alternative Opposition Groups Present Programs

Solidarity Committee Offer

26000490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 6

[Solidarity Civic Committee statement; first paragraph is GAZETA WYBORCZA introduction]

[Text] Access to this column is free. Views differing from those of the editorial office, all critical contributions, and information on opposition outside the roundtable will be published on this page.

The Solidarity Civic Committee acknowledges that some political groups of the opposition are nominating their own candidate deputies and senators. They have every right to do so, the right which we tried to secure at the roundtable! We declare that we will come out against all attempts to violate this right. We especially require this of our representatives on electoral boards. We express our hope that competition for the seats will be a struggle among programs conducted in complete compliance with personal and political etiquette, with our common concern for the good of the country.

KPN Protests Militia Action

26000490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 6

[Article by Leszek Moczulski: "KPN Before the Elections"]

[Text] The greatest number of militia attacks against KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland] activists collecting signatures under lists occurred in Lublin. Dariusz Wojcik, who is a Sejm candidate there, has been detained by the militia 5 times (on one occasion, for 27 hours), and at one election meeting of the KPN about 80 activists of the KPN were detained.

Along with militia operations, provocative propaganda actions are undertaken. On 4 May, the Warsaw TV falsely suggested that the KPN was calling for boycotting the elections. During some KPN meetings in Warsaw, Katowice, and Torun, "persons unknown" tossed leaflets in the crowd signed by "KPN activists," which called for boycotting the elections.

In the government press, ads have been published to the effect that suspect individuals have been approaching people and collecting money and signatures for the KPN, but "it is unknown who they actually are."

At times, actions against the KPN assume humorous forms. Thus, on 25 April, during a manifestation on Krakowskie Przedmiescie, a Citizens' Militia Capt Maj stated publicly that "the confederation has no right to collect signatures on behalf of its candidates, because this calls for people to produce their ID, whereas only the militia has the right to ask people to produce their ID."

The Main Election Committee of the KPN has lodged a protest against militia actions with the PKW [State Election Commission]. The PKW delayed the consideration of the case for a week; subsequently, a PAP communique appeared in the press on 5 May containing the statement: "The KPN does not have the right to nominate candidates." To be sure, in the same communique the PKW confirmed the right of citizens, including those belonging to the KPN, to organize meetings of voters, but refrained from taking a stand on the lawless militia attacks against the KPN.

Immediately following the publication of the PKW communique (reprinted by the entire press and broadcast over the radio) people came to our election centers stating that they will vote for the KPN, but will not sign a list of candidates, because they are afraid of consequences for themselves and their families.

It may happen that a considerable segment of 45 KPN candidates for the Sejm and for the Senate will have difficulties obtaining the lacking signatures, because by 5 May a majority of them had not yet secured the 3,000 signatures required.

Finally, we do not know whether the petitions filed by us with District Election Commissions are going to be registered. Three thousand two hundred and fifty people have signed a petition nominating me a candidate Sejm deputy for the district Krakow-Krowodrze, but employees of the District Election Commission would not tell me when this petition is going to be registered, if at all.

Obviously, if our candidates, or any other candidates meeting the requirements of the election law, are not allowed to run in the elections, it will become obvious that we are dealing with a glaring violation of the election law. In this case, the KPN will call for boycotting the elections.

'Union of Real Politics' in Wroclaw

26000490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 6

[Article by Janusz Korwin-Mikke, founding member of the Union of Real Politics, URP Senate candidate: "We Are the Party of Reaction"]

[Text] We did not sit at the roundtable, and, therefore, we are not dizzy. We signed nothing, and therefore we are not bound by any agreement (not entirely known to this day). We believe the political consequences to be moderately favorable for us, and we are going to take advantage of them, for example, by taking part in the elections. The economic consequences are going to be very bad, and we will have to suffer them whether we like it or not.

Both parties have set the date of elections so soon in order to prevent the opposition from organizing. I am writing clearly: "opposition"—because we do not consider Solidarity opposition. It has been taken over by people hailing the slogans of "new and better socialism," "humane socialism," and so forth, whereas the better socialism is, the worse it is for the country. We have not been tirelessly proclaiming our views in order to watch now how the stewards of New Better Socialism organize May Day marches again. We believe that people do not want to go to May Day marches of any kind, because society wants to finally react to the insanity of the century now coming to an end. What we are is exactly the party of reaction.

Judging by the combined attendance at all of our three marches, it would appear that we are right. Therefore, we call on all of those who stand to win the most under liberal capitalism: diligent workers, thrifty farmers, bright intellectuals, talented artists, energetic entrepreneurs—to renounce professional solidarity with bad workers, atrocious farmers, and so on, and to vote for us.

Unfortunately, many of them have already left for the West... Lately, however, due to the introduction of social welfare in the West, many loafers have also left, and to this we attach our hopes.

When the slogans of TRYBUNA LUDU from the year 1956 are proclaimed by what the authorities graciously call "the opposition," this is nice because I prefer the opposition to talk nonsense rather than the government. It is worse that the government wants to drag this "opposition" into the system of power by hook or by crook. In any event, we suggest voting for those on whose banner there is not even a patch of red.

We treat the elections as getting a count. Numbers do not mean being right, but it would be good to know what percentage of the citizens will follow those who call for risky freedom, and what percentage for those who call for merely changing attendants at the trough. Our time will come sooner or later, because we are sure that this maneuver will lead to nothing, and the bottom of the trough will become visible increasingly fast. It is a pity that democracy cannot be convinced by arguments: It must experience everything on its own hide (and, unfortunately, ours as well).

We are focusing our efforts on Wroclaw, which has a young, thinking, and broad-minded populace. This is where we have the most powerful organization. We will see the number of people whom we can win over for us and our point of view.

'Union of Real Politics' Handbill

26000490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 6

[Handbill of the Union of Real Politics distributed in Warsaw on 1 May 1989; first paragraph is GAZETA WYBORCZA introduction]

[Text] London has Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park, where anybody can proclaim anything publicly. We have this column.

We do not want socialism, and that's all.

We have had enough of the Reds, but the Rosy, Orange, and Yellow ones, repeating the imbecilities which the Reds themselves stopped believing long ago, are even worse. The Reds have wised up, 70 years later... Not those others again! New and better socialism? Strikes and class struggle again? Indexation and Workers' Councils again? Try Madagascar. Try Zimbabwe. After all, in Nicaragua they, perhaps, don't want it anymore.

In general, it would be nice to also test this socialism with a human face on dogs, monkeys, and guinea pigs ahead of time.

However, it is not just them. At present, even half of those protesting the "Kiszczak-Walesa conspiracy" are proponents of socialism.

Do you have the courage to shed the curse of the 20th century? Do you have the courage to cry in the face of the self-appointed tycoons of left-wing opposition: LONG LIVE CAPITALISM! Decent, liberal CAPITALISM!

If it is so, join us. Combat social demagoguery. In the forthcoming elections, vote for the only group which openly and sincerely strives for CAPITALISM!

Movement of Real Politics (handbill disseminated in Warsaw on 1 May)

Young Poland Movement

26000490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 6

[Entry for the Young Poland Movement in the column "Dictionary of the Opposition," by Arkadiusz Rybicki and Tomasz Wolek]

[Text] Among the groups of Polish opposition, the RMP [Young Poland Movement] is the oldest community which has maintained its own ideological and political identity continuously since the mid-1970's, working to establish a modern right wing drawing inspiration from the Nationalist [Party], conservative and liberal concepts, based on Christian values. The RMP emerged in Gdansk in the years 1968 through 1976, being one of the groups of democratic opposition, and operating as a separate community since 1979. Present at the August strike of 1980, the RMP was a co-founder of Solidarity. Since 1977, the RMP has been publishing the periodicals BRATNIAK, SOLIDARNOSC NARODU, and POLITYKA POLSKA. The publication MLODA POLSKA was transformed into the Library of POLITYKA POLSKA. Among other places, RMP communities are active in Gdansk, Poznan, Warsaw, Lodz, Krakow, Szczecin, Gorzow, Lublin, Kielce, and Garwolin. All work is coordinated at present by the Provisional Board (A. Hall, G. Grzelak, R. Rybicki, A. Siwko, W. Walendziak, T. Wolek). In 1985, the RMP advanced the concept of legalizing the opposition, co-founding subsequently the "Dziekania" Club of Political Thought, the Great Poland Political Club "Order and Freedom," the L. Badkowski Political Club, the Academic League in Warsaw, and the Academic Unions—"Verbum" in Gdansk, "Young Poland" in Poznan, "Civitas Academica" in Lodz. The Gdansk Political Association "Young Poland" has also filed for registration. Aleksander Hall, a member of the Primate's Social Council and of the Civic Committee, is the leader of the RMP.

Hall's Disagreement Published

26000490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 6

[Letter of resignation by Aleksander Hall, member of the Primate's Social Council and the Solidarity Civic Committee, to the Solidarity Civic Committee]

[Text] Being unable to attend the next meeting of the committee due to a previously scheduled short trip abroad, I would like to address you in this manner in order to once again present my position which I outlined at the last meeting of the Civic Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa on 8 April 1989.

I consider the forthcoming elections to the Sejm and the Senate to be a very weighty matter. I am convinced that independent forces should spare no effort to further the cause of building democracy in Poland in this manner as well. I am aware that effective actions are needed, prompted by the date of elections set too soon, as well as the fact that the camp of the authorities is not only a partner but also a rival which will strive to hold its own, and which has mighty resources.

Regardless of the outcome of these elections, Poland is embarking on a new chapter of history. Therefore, the style and manner in which the opposition and Solidarity would like to gain social support for their ideas and programs will be of tremendous importance. Polish democracy, which is being born with much difficulty, needs a powerful foundation right now. After all, it will determine the shape of the future structure.

Society will also evaluate the degree of our effort to respect its genuine pluralism, the extent to which we take into account the multiplicity and variety of independent social and political initiatives. The customs and political culture of Poland will depend to a large degree on the operational principles we are now introducing.

This is why I believe that, in view of the forthcoming elections, the Civic Committee should make an effort to expand the coalition of forces whose representatives took part in the proceedings of the roundtable at the invitation of Lech Walesa. This is the reason why at the last meeting of the committee I presented the view that we should invite to cooperate as partners before the elections all independent political communities and social forces, which accept the resolutions of the roundtable, and are prepared to work together with the Civic Committee.

The determinations made at this meeting did not produce such prospects. The Civic Committee appealed only to local Solidarity authorities, which, after all, are temporary, to create Regional Solidarity Civic Committees in order to nominate candidates of the opposition-Solidarity side in the coming elections, without stating precisely in what manner this is to occur.

In this situation, all that remains is to hope that the practice of forming Regional Committees will take into account the actual balance of forces in local communities. However, it would be much better if the practice would be bolstered by clearly formulated principles. They should be set forth by the committee which has, after all, assumed great responsibility by becoming the sponsor of elections.

Given the current state of affairs, I cannot bear the political responsibility entailed by my presence in the Political Committee of the Solidarity Civic Committee. Much to my regret, I am also compelled to turn down the offer to run for the Sejm on the Solidarity Civic Committee ticket, which was made to me.

At the same time, I would like to offer assurances of sincere and loyal support for the candidates recommended for the election to representative bodies by our committee.

[signed] Aleksander Hall. Warsaw, 16 April 1989

PZPR Delegate Conference

26000491 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 May 89 p 1

[Article by (kl): "They Are Going To Cross Us Out"]

[Text] Following a sharp discussion, the National Conference of Delegates, which ended on Friday, denounced the period of Stalinism in Poland. This resolution, though quite mildly worded, made the worst showing in the voting among all documents adopted. In addition, the following was written in the quite nondescript electoral platform to counterbalance this: "Forty years of labor by our people (...) have not been wasted."

General Jaruzelski announced a law on general amnesty (but not rehabilitation) for deeds contravening the law, which were committed for political motives between August 1980 and now. Jaruzelski also demanded that "constructive" opposition distance itself from the "extremists." Prime Minister Rakowski issued a wholesale denunciation of the entire opposition for "copying the program almost to a letter" from... PZPR resolutions.

Two delegates in their dramatic speeches cautioned that the PZPR program carries little weight, and the danger is looming of all party members being crossed out on the ballots in the course of the elections. The opposition wants to show how small the number of votes is by which candidates are elected for the seats reserved for the PZPR. However, nobody picked up on this thread, and in its report TRYBUNA LUDU crossed out the words "to cross out."

Self-Management Forum

26000491 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Third National Forum of Workforce Self-Management Bodies"]

[Text] Yesterday, the 3d National Forum of Workforce Self-Management Bodies opened in Gdansk. These meetings, which previously had the format of scientific conferences, have been transformed over time into permanent bodies which develop the stance of the self-management movement. Delegates of employee councils from all over the country and guests, 280 persons, are taking part in this meeting.

In 1981, employee self-management was conceived as the armed branch of Solidarity in the sphere of economic policy of enterprises. The law adopted at the time opened considerable opportunities for workforce self-management. However, after 13 December [1981], the powers of self-management bodies were restricted. Under these circumstances, Solidarity announced boycotts of self-management bodies in many enterprises e.g., this was the case at the Gdansk Shipyard.

However, Solidarity activists in many enterprises, e.g., the Warsaw Iron and Steel Plant, CEMI, and Elana, resolved to take control of employee councils. Later, Walesa also supported the self-management movement calling for squeezing into any opening of legalism, and taking advantage of every opportunity to be active.

The first attempt of the representatives of employee councils to meet in Torun in 1984 was unsuccessful, because at the last moment the authorities prevented the meeting. Only after last year's August strikes, in September 1988, did the representatives of self-management bodies meet in Poznan without hindrance, setting up the National Forum of Workforce Self-Management Bodies.

According to Solidarity research, in mid-1988, self-management bodies existed in 8,000 enterprises of our country, of which only 10 to 15 percent were involved in major activities. The delegates from these most active, Solidarity-oriented councils went to the Gdansk meeting. The session will last 3 days.

Initial Indexation Efforts

26000491 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 2

[Article by (dz): "Beginnings of Indexation"]

[Text] It is hard to say who is going to gain due to this, because wage increases were quite considerable in almost all enterprises in the first quarter of this year. Apparently, however, this was not the case everywhere, because the minister of finance together with the minister of labor and social policy published a statement on 4 May on equalizing wages for the employees of enterprises in which there were no such raises in the first quarter, or they were smaller than the established growth of the cost of living would suggest. This is supposed to be the first step toward indexation, as the objective is to provide an even start for all. Therefore, in May the employees of such enterprises may receive raises (retroactive to 1 April 1989) in the amount of at least 80 percent of [the increment in] the indicator of the cost of living in the first quarter of this year (calculated by the Central Office of Statistics)—provided, of course, that their enterprises have funds for that.

According to the resolutions of the roundtable, indexing will always be done in the second month of every quarter, increasing the amount of wages by a set percentage of the growth of prices in the previous quarter. Therefore, the first payments increased by virtue of this, for the second quarter of this year, will be made in August.

It is too early to say how the equalization is proceeding. We will definitely learn more in mid-May, when a meeting of representatives of enterprises devoted to this very issue is held. After all, the statement is not a legal regulation; enterprises may comply with it, but they do not have to. Resolutions of the roundtable, which, incidentally, assumed the independence of enterprises, are not the law either. There is also a passage in the statement which says that the details of compensatory wage increases are established in enterprises on the basis of an agreement between enterprise organs and trade unions. As is known, the OPZZ argued for fixed-amount indexation. Therefore, the first collision may occur in the course of equalization.

Comment on PZPR 'Democratization'

26000491 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 3

[Article by Dawid Warszawski: "PZPR on a Sharp Turn"]

[Text] Less than 3 years after the 10th PZPR Congress, which "confirmed the correctness of the policy of struggle and understanding," the delegates met again in the Hall of Congresses at the National Conference of Delegates. Their mood was best expressed by the director of Siarkopol E. Gutman who admitted: "I have had tremendous difficulties discerning the proper policy. What is it about?" The party is breaking up: A. Szczucinski, a delegate from Poznan has counted, and quite correctly, as many as five factions within it: conservatives, hidden oppositionists, the apathetic, the obedient, and reformers. Only the first and the last ones have programs; only the program of the last ones gives the PZPR a chance. Under these circumstances, the only objective was, as W. Jaruzelski put it, for the National Conference of Delegates to "endorse the reformist policy." This was not the only endorser: Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Cz.

Staszczak stated clearly that the Ministry of Internal Affairs "will vigorously defend the process of understanding and its co-creators."

Suddenly, the party conservatives found themselves in the rain without an umbrella. Hence their low profile at the National Conference of Delegates; even A. Miodowicz called on party members merely not to join Solidarity. In response to H. Michels from the OZOS [expansion unknown] in Olsztyn, who cursed and swore about "the enemy forcing this entire ideology on us," M. Orzechowski retorted that "it is not the enemy but reality" that is to blame.

The program of reformers, set forth in the report of the Politburo (deserves to be read) and recapitulated in the electoral Platform, transcends the boldest dreams of horizontal structures in the years 1980 and 1981. However, the platform stated that "the PZPR is the main originator and guarantor of the democratic turnaround now under way," and Prime Minister M. Rakowski proclaimed that "the electoral program of the opposition is an almost exact copy of party and government action programs." As little as a week ago, editor in chief of TRYBUNA LUDU J. Majka detected "the betrayal of national interests" and a desire "to restore capitalism" in this program. Apparently, the comrades have forgotten to coordinate a joint policy...

It does not really matter who copied what from whom. The issue is to implement the slogans. One may only want to know why the PZPR, "the originator of the democratic turnaround," has uttered not a word about what had prevented it from adopting this program for 45 years. Had it been the communists?

Since the PZPR desires to claim credit for all the post-war accomplishments of Polish society, all the more it cannot evade taking responsibility for what the PZPR itself has done during these years. At issue is not the ritual denunciation of Stalinism, which, incidentally, is decades late, but also the more recent times. Speaking at the National Conference of Delegates, Gen W. Jaruzelski promised a general amnesty. His intention deserves to be acknowledged, but let us recall that there has already been such a law. It was brought on by the martial law, which was bashfully passed over in silence at the National Conference of Delegates. If it no longer is an element of the political identity of the PZPR, this needs to be stated. If it is, this needs to be stated all the more. This is not about settling accounts; this is about the political credibility of a partner.

Solidarity Theater Evening

26000491 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 8

[Unattributed article: "Actors for Solidarity"]

[Text] The Popular Theater has prepared a special evening event for persons who cooperated with Solidarity in the period of martial law. The first such concert was organized in 1980, when Solidarity was formed. Yesterday's concert was a continuation of the one almost 9 years ago.

The most outstanding actors of the theaters of Warsaw took part in the concert: Ewa Blaszczyk, Hanna Skarzanka, Magdalena Zawadzka, Joanna Szczepkowska, Maja Komorowska, Piotr Fronczewski, Wojciech Mlynarski, Stanislaw Tym, Jan Pietrzak, and many others. Among performers, there were also actors-candidates for Sejm and Senate seats: Gustaw Holoubek, Andrzej Lapicki, and Anrzej Szczepkowski.

The performance was directed by Jerzy Markuszewski.

Solidarity TV Programming

26000492 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 3

[Statement by Andrzej Wajda to wm: "A Question for Andrzej Wajda: 'What About TV?'"]

[Text] [Andrzej Wajda] Resolutions of the roundtable have not been precisely recorded; therefore, our talks with TV managers have begun with misunderstandings. As we have been told, the TV believes that the authorities will win the election anyway; therefore, the TV Election Studio is going to be restricted to a minimum. Certainly, the purpose is quite different—to have as little Solidarity on the TV screen as possible. The authorities have already failed to keep their word: I keep seeing on TV the candidates of the other side who introduce themselves and outline their programs. Are our candidates there? No; therefore, this is an obvious violation of the roundtable agreement.

We will be present on TV in programs of two kinds. The first kind is the daily election program in which all candidates are going to be introduced. Ours will only have 23 percent. The TV proceeds from the assumption that it is the one to service the entire election, and to introduce our candidates as well. We protested, and demanded our own header, our own Solidarity sign, our own production, and our own journalists.

Besides, we will have our own 45-minute program once a week. We were given time alternatively on channels 1 and 2, at different times, and no adequately early announcement was made in newspapers... The first program airs today.

We do not want to replicate all of these entertainment and propaganda programs which we have seen on TV so many times on the occasion of such events. Our voters are mainly expecting information from us—information on the candidates, information on the election platform, information on how to vote.

Specific Listings Presented

26000492 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 8

[Unattributed item: "Our Broadcasts"]

[Text] Independent TV will appear on our screens for the first time today, 9 May. At 22.45, channel 2 will carry a special by Andrzej Jurga. It will include a videotaped report on the meeting of Lech Walesa with candidate [Sejm] deputies and senators which was held on 29 April 1989, as well as a report on the meeting of Walesa with voters in Gdansk, which occurred on 30 April in front of the Church of St. Brygida.

Independent TV is preparing four such 45-minute specials. They will be telecast on Tuesdays, beginning today, during late evening hours, alternately on channels 1 and 2 (channel 1 at 22:00, channel 2 at 22:45).

Solidarity will present its election programs daily, except Sundays, beginning on 10 May and until 3 June. They will be telecast on channel 1, within the framework of "Election Watch," between 17:30 and 18:00 and at 21:30. However, they are going to be announced by a different header and a sound signal.

In addition, programs on individual regions will be aired daily within local programs (channel 3) between 18:30 and 19:00. They will be produced by TV stations in Gdansk, Katowice, Krakow, Lodz, Poznan, Szczecin, Wroclaw, and Warsaw.

Yet another special from the cycle "The Solidarity Ones," the third one by now, will air on radio channel 4 between 7:40 and 8:10. This will be a program on the economy. Candidates of the Solidarity Civic Committee Ryszard Bugaj and Jerzy Osiatynski will talk about actions to further the new economic order. In addition, the program will include a review of the independent press, current trade union information by Solidarity, and a short report on the meeting of Walesa with candidate deputies and senators.

Also, on 10 May our information will appear four times on channel 1, and in regular programs called "The Election Studio of the Polish Radio" between 7:15 and 7:30 (the last 3 minutes), and between 12:25 and 12:40, 18:00 and 19:30, and 21:30 and 22:00 (the last 5 minutes).

Seven minutes have been earmarked for information prepared by journalists working for the Solidarity Civic Committee between 13:20 and 13:50, and between 17:15 and 17:45 on channel II, on 10 May, in the program of Radio Warsaw.

Beginning on 11 May, an editorial report lasting a couple minutes, which is prepared by independent journalists, will be heard on channels 1 and 2 of the Polish radio at times yet to be precisely established. We will announce them in the forthcoming issues of our newspaper.

TV 'Courtesy' Lauded

26000492 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 89 p 8

[Article by Andrzej Szczypiorski: "Courtly Manners on TV"]

[Text] From the time the person who can be the epitome of moderation and elegance [Jerzy Urban, former Polish Government spokesman, chairman of the Polish Radio and Television Affairs Committee] assumed the post of the chief of TV, everything out there became diplomatically polite. The chief himself would not agree to the TV operating his election campaign; he believes this to be an abuse of sorts. Editor Tumanowicz, whom I recall wearing a tailored military uniform, puts on a show of pluralistic fancy. Editor Zakrzewski cannot heap enough praise on political opponents. In this case, the term "opponent" denotes a romantic attitude toward the enemy. Editor [of the TV News] Baranski waxes lyrical even more than Mrs Guca [anchor of the "Daily Panorama"], while Mrs Guca is not confrontational in the least.

Through this very simple device, we become the only ones who are confrontational. The TV gets a monopoly again, this time on elegance, moderation, and a democratic vision of Poland. It appears that Chairman Urban lectures us: People are good, and as far as the past is concerned, it simply does not exist...

As is known, the TV has never waged a malicious campaign against Solidarity; nobody over there has used the methods of inquisition, and nobody has accused others of dirty politicking, being [foreign] agents, and being corrupt... Therefore, if anyone dares say now that TV programs quite recently overflowed with invectives, falsehoods, and libel, he is just a cad who is out to get confrontational, whereas it has been resolved that there is not going to be any confrontation!

As a matter of fact, this style agrees with me. The experience of many generations shows that it is always better to deal with a gentleman with impeccable manners and a mellow vocabulary then with a caveman armed with a club. To be sure, Voltaire mentions somewhere cannibals in tuxedos and lace ruffles, but he had a perverted imagination, as well as Balzac.

Our imagination should be as simple and unambiguous as the views of minister Urban.

Solidarity TV Program Withdrawn From Broadcast

LD2305225189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] The directors of the radio and television committee have decided not to submit for broadcast a program by writers of Solidarity, scheduled for 2235 [2035 GMT] today on television. This is because the program's contents struck at the agreements of the roundtable.

The state television directors will submit this program to the Coordination Committee, to watch and to give a joint assessment. The coalition, the government, give a clear expression of their openness to the expression of various opinions. On radio and television, the opposition presents various programs, containing aggressive subject matter. There are, however, limits that are not permitted to be exceeded, since this would cancel the agreement achieved at the roundtable, the constructive achievement being a valuable good for the majority of Poles, and the basis for the current election campaign. Being guided precisely by the desire to protect the roundtable agreements and to prevent the growth of extremes, inevitably leading to an intensification of political conflicts, the directors of the radio and television committee have withheld the transmission of the next Solidarity program. This program, in its assumptions, was to be based on the formula of mutual trust and to serve agreement.

We await from television viewers understanding for our decision, aimed at maintaining political dialogue and polemics within the bounds defined in the agreement. This is declared in a statement by the directors of the Radio and Television Committee.

TRYBUNA LUDU Cited on Solidarity, Election

LD2305135289 Warsaw PAP in English 1207 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—"It looks as if neo-Stalinists appeared on the Polish political scene and, strangely enough, it is no use looking for them among members of the coalition, including the PUWP Polish United Workers Party as one could have suspected. The latter, working in the spirit of renewal in tune with their own convictions and resolutions for the 10th PUWP CC [Central Committee] Plenum, respect and practically recognize political and trade union pluralism," TRYBUNA LUDU said today in its commentary on the election campaign in Poland headlined "On Confrontational Course." The daily said in part:

"The course of the "round table" discussions, talks and decisions reached with the so-called opposition-Solidarity side unequivocally showed that the elections would not be of a confrontational character.

"Up to now, the PUWP has been following the non-confrontational course, which must be admitted by everybody who is not guided by prejudice.

"Violating non-confrontational decisions, quite a considerable number of opposition candidates from Sejm deputies and senators severly test this course. This entails the threat of undermining what was achieved at the "round table".

"It is primarily the spirit of struggle against the system or, as the opposition calls this, against communists that hover over the electoral struggle.

"I say that since a certain day propaganda campaign [phrase as received] of the moderate, semi-moderate, extremist and God knows what else opposition has been, unfortunately, filled with the spirit of confrontation, unmasked reluctance, not to say hostility, towards the coalition-government side, the partners at the "round table." Experts in this campaign adopted the principle of descrediting our candidates and try to make people believe that they should cross out every name, leaving only opposition people on electoral ballots.

"The entire electoral propaganda—full of aggressiveness towards the PUWP, its allies and Polish Government—takes place under the sign-board of Solidarity, the trade union?

To our astonishment, a political formation emerges after thirty years, the exponents of which make an impression that they reached for Stalin's clever work the 'Short Course in the History of the All- Russian Bolshevik Communist Party' that is unparalleled as regards its simplicity and applying a black-and-white method.

"This is what happened. A neo-Stalinist school of thinking and action is growing up.

"Pluralism today became a genuine form of the coalition's work. On the contrary, the Solidarity opposition holds on to its entire nomenclature in its dressed rank. What would happen if their representatives ever seized power? They would certainly show us what democracy is," TRYBUNA LUDU said.

Christian Democrats' Own Candidates To Run

26000494 Warsaw LAD in Polish No 19, 7 May 89 p 2

[Declaration and Signed Communique of the Main Board of the Christian Democratic Club dated 24 April 1989]

[Text]

Declaration

1. The Main Board of the Christian-Democratic Club welcomes the results of the roundtable with hope. We believe that the resolutions worked out at the roundtable create an opportunity to influence the further course of events in our country, though they do not yet give the people a complete right to determine its future. Advantage should be taken of this opportunity during, among

other things, the forthcoming elections to the Sejm and the Senate. We sympathize with the view expressed in the declaration of the Primate's Social Council, dated 8 April 1989, that "the elections should confirm that Catholic society wishes to have in the Sejm and the Senate its representatives who build public life on the basis of Christian values, who work to defend the life, dignity of human beings, and human rights—representatives for whom such participation in public life is going to be service on behalf of the public good." We also subscribe to the view that we cannot refrain from further steps on the way to democracy and basing the social order of Poland on Christian social principles. Accepting this program, the Christian-Democratic Club will nominate its own candidates wherever possible, and in other places will support other candidates of the opposition who guarantee adherence to the above principles, regardless of their organizational affiliation.

2. We welcome with satisfaction the already accomplished act of registering the NSZZ Solidarity, as well as the NSZZ Solidarity of Individual Farmers. We wish all the best to these trade unions in achieving the goals for which they have been set up, and which comply with the hopes of the Polish working people.

Communique

A dozen or so days ago, the Solidarity Civic Committee announced that it was assuming sponsorship of the election campaign of opposition candidates to the Sejm and the Senate.

On 14 April 1989, the Christian-Democratic Club, concerned with ensuring the unity of all opposition in the election struggle under way and with the Solidarity Civic Committee becoming the actual spokesman for the entire pluralistic opposition, appealed to the committee [expressing] its readiness to accept the sponsorship and include our candidates for the Sejm and the Senate on the joint ticket as well.

In a response to our letter, dated 17 April 1989, the Solidarity Civic Committee agreed with our conviction that the Catholic community should have its representatives, who proceed from the social teachings of the Church, in the future Sejm and Senate. It suggested that we take the issue of our candidates to provincial Civic Committees, in the work of which activists of the Christian-Democratic Club had been participating on many occasions anyway for some time.

However, the actual attitude of these committees toward the proclaimed principle of pluralism and the environment which our candidates encountered varied. In some provinces, they were met with understanding, and in a couple cases were placed on the tickets of the Solidarity Civic Committee. Unfortunately, this was not the case in all provinces. On occasion, criteria other than those of merit and the narrow political interests of the faction dominant in the Committee at present held sway. This was the case in Lublin, where, proceeding from such criteria, the local Civic Committee rejected the candidacy of Ryszard Bender, a deputy in the current term, who has experience in parliamentary work and is known and appreciated throughout the country and abroad for his bold statements.

The case was somewhat different with the candidacy of Janusz Zablocki. In keeping with the general suggestions included in the letter of the [Solidarity Civic] Committee, his candidacy was presented to the Citizens' Committee in Suwalki, where he is known. This committee elected him candidate to the Sejm almost unanimously, and submitted its decision to Warsaw. However, it was not recognized at the central level; a change was made, and another candidate was introduced instead of him. The ticket of the Civic Committee also did not include the name of the outstanding activist of the opposition Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, a long-time counselor to Solidarity and meritorious defense lawyer at political trials.

Under these circumstances, faced with the evidence that the Solidarity Civic Committee does not wish to represent the entire opposition, the Christian-Democratic Club feels compelled to nominate a majority of its candidates to the Sejm independently, with its own election program. (We have resolved not to nominate candidates for the Senate in order not to worsen the chances of other opposition candidates by splitting the vote). We acknowledge the declaration of the Solidarity Civic Committee, dated 23 April 1989, in this matter. We share the hope that "competition for the seats will be a struggle of programs, carried on with complete personal and political etiquette, in our joint struggle for the good of the country."

[signed] Main Board. Warsaw, 24 April 1989

Registration Refused for Students' Association

LD2305142489 Warsaw PAP in English
1400 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—Warsaw Voivodship (Provincial) Court having examined the application to register the Independent Students Association (NZS) refused to register the organization. NZS has the right to appeal to the Supreme Court.

NZS Representative Comments

LD2305183289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 23 May 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Voivodship Court in Warsaw, having examined the application for the registration of the Independent Union of Students [NZS], as passed its verdicts refusing the registration of the NZS. [passage omitted]

We have asked Andrezej Jasionowski about this. He is a member of the National Coordinating Commission and a representative of the NZS in the court.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] How do you assess this decision?

[Jasionowski] I suspected that such a decision would be made because of the very matter of extending length of the registration process. We have heard about the legalization of the NZS since February. According to the roundtable decisions, we were supposed to be registered according to the old law on associations and not by the court. We were supposed to adapt our statute to the law in force. We have done this and our statute is compatible with the law. Hence, today's decision really arouses understandable concern, but this is a subtle phrase. I do not know whether the authorities will gain peace at this price, (?and above all) peace in all academic centres.

[Correspondent] What is going to happen now? You have the right to appeal.

[Jasionowski] We will certainly try to submit an appeal. We will seek a legal way to legalise [the NZS] but if the legal way turns out to be ineffective, we will certainly choose another way, because we want the NZS and the NZS to be legal. The question is only when and what the price of victory will be. [end recording]

Students React to Refusal

LD2305184989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] The Warsaw Voivodship Court refused the registration of the Independent Union of Students [NZS]. A group of NZS activists did not abide by the court's verdict, refusing approval of the statute which contravened the law, and began street disturbances.

The prepetrators were warned by the law and order organs that the public wanted calm on the streets. At Warsaw University, the student proclaimed a strike. They blocked the street for a moment.

At 1500, some 12 students went to the PRC Embassy, where they tried to organize a demonstration. The militia intervened.

PAP Responds to Criticism

LD2305232989 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—In connection with the court's refusal to register NZS (Independent Students' Union), representatives of the Commission for Associations and the Commission for Youth of the Citizens' Committee "Solidarity" stated that the decision is legally unfounded, politically harmful, threatening the basic academic freedoms and contrary to the round table settlements. They demand that the authorities keep to their word and take wise, positive decisions shortly as delay is harmful for everybody.

The content of the statement by the two commissions invokes some sad reflections, especially if one takes into account the behaviour of the NZS members and their followers in the court and outside it.

The verdict to refuse registration was issued by an independent court basing on the valid legal order. Therefore the statement that "decision is legally unfounded" is a libel aimed at the authority of the bench, having little in common with the postulate of sovereignty of the Polish jurisdiction and its not succumbing to any pressure or blackmail, so strongly voiced at the round table.

The court does not decide about changing laws and regulations. Only the legislative power has the right to set up and amend laws. Presently there is not a law that would allow legalization of an association having the right to strike as it is granted only to trade unions. It is the case all over the world.

The court explicitly presented reasons for refusal of registration pointing out at the same time that it does not block the way for further procedure with a view to the union's registration if it adopts a statute in tune with the legal order. Brawls, including street disturbances, will help here in no way. The law binds everybody and all must observe it.

A group of NSZ activists did not respect the court's verdict which refused to accept the statute contrary to the law and started street brawls. The perpetrators of the incidents were warned by the militia that society wants calm in the streets.

Spokesman on Anti-Soviet Demonstration

LD2305154189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1405 GMT 23 May 89

[Statement by Zbyslaw Rykowski, deputy press spokesman, at a news conference in Warsaw—recorded]

[Excerpt] Let me express my indignation and regret at the anti-Soviet excesses which occured in Krakow and also the attempts to renew them in Gdansk. The scandalous and irresponsible political pranks by groups of young people are contrary to the activities and views of the overwhelming majority of society. Polish-Soviet relations have never been so good, between our two states and also between our two peoples. We are carrying out fundamental revisions of the past. The success of Soviet perestroyka supports reforms in Poland. It is precisely now, when the Polish experiment is being observed with good will in the Soviet Union, that people are demonstrating aggressive anti-Sovietism, profaning the emblem and injuring the dignity of Soviet citizens.

Nationalistic chauvinism is always morally repugnant. Demonstrating it precisely now is particular evidence of poltical stupidity and ill will.

The adoption of an explicit attitude toward the Krakow excesses is expected from our partners at the roundtable. It is the political and moral duty of all responsible participants in Polish public life. I reject the attempt to equate those attacking the Soviet Consulate—the groups of demonstrators profaning the Soviet emblem—and the forces and law and order, whose task is to protect and to maintain law and order and the rules of hospitality. [passage omitted]

Agreement on Bay of Pomerania Lauded

LD2305140789 Warsaw PAP in English 0006 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Berlin, May 22—Wojciech Jaruzelski's friendly visit to the GDR lasted only eight hours, but its results may be considered an important stage in the development of relations between the two socialist states having a common border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers.

The agreement between Poland and the GDR on delimitation of waters in the Pomeranian Bay is of particular importance here as it settles a many-year dispute and crowns with success the negotiations that lasted for nearly eleven years. A compromise respecting interests of the two sovereign states was found.

The agreement ensures direct and free access of ships from the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie to the open sea, it includes settlements that take into account interests of both partners and prevent possibilities of tension or conflicts arising in the future.

In that way the two countries prove that even difficult problems can be solved by means of political dialogue and by strengthening of the neighbourly cooperation, that is, thanks to the forms characteristic of the new stage of the Polish-German relations initiated by formation of the GDR and the Zgorzelec Treaty of 1950.

It should be also stressed that signing of the agreement on delimitation of waters in the Pomeranian Bay puts an end to various speculations in the world or attempts at setting both countries at variance.

The two states consider the tightening of bilateral relations and development of economic relations as their contribution to the strengthening of European security and world peace.

Dailies Praise Agreement

LD2305141289 Warsaw PAP in English 1155 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 22—Commenting on the recent friendly visit to the GDR paid by Wojciech Jaruzelski the Warsaw daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY said it was "short, businesslike and significant."

"The visit's most spectacular result and a meaningful fact is the agreement on maritime border—example of settling a dispute through a well-balanced compromise taking account both sides' interests. This is a proof of a victory of common sense and superior reasons of not only both countries, but also of the whole community," the daily stated.

Another Warsaw daily, the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI pointed out in its commentary that "a constructive solution has been reached by two socialist countries."

"The agreement proves that the principles of friendship and cooperation materialize at moments difficult for both sides, and agreement is feasible. The path of dialogue and political arrangements can eliminate even such problems which could have affected the climate of neighbourly relations. Who knows, the solutions accepted and, especially the way they have been reached, may become model ones in the future," the paper opined.

Government Opposes NATO Nuclear Modernization

AU2305164289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1331 GMT 23 May 89

["The Romanian People Speaks Against Nuclear Arms Modernization"]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/5/1989—Romania's policy of peace and broad international collaboration tellingly proved by President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives and actions meant to deepen and dynamize the process of disarmament, confidence-building and detente in Europe and the world over is fully approved and steadfastly backed by the Romanian people and finds a vivid and legitimate echo in the consciousness of world nations.

According to the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state, progress, the flourishing of civilization, the ensurance of a bright future are not possible in the absence of a durable peace, a climate of true interstate confidence, a wide and fruitful international collaboration. In these circumstances, the recent decision of the NATO member countries to discuss, at the forthcoming summit of 29 May, the passage to the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles is a great worry, an initiative which would seriously prejudice the incipient disarmament process. The modernization of this class of missiles would annul the results scored so far along the way of nuclear disarmament, replacing a force of destruction with a more sophisticated and dangerous one, the essence of such a modernization being the reactuation of the arms race and its growing technologic improvement.

Consistent with its policy of peace, promotion of disarmament and detente in fact, Romania states firmly against such an initiative in utter disagreement with the vital interests of all peoples, supporting the imperious necessity of starting negotiations for the conclusion of an accord to cut nuclear strategic arms by 50 percent and completely eliminate all nuclear arms by the year 2000.

As an expression of the whole Romanian people's will to live in a world of peace, friendship and collaboration, the mass and public organizations in Romania sent the governments and similar organizations in NATO countries appeals whereby they urge them to do everything possible for those states to renounce the development of tactical nuclear weapons and any measures intended to stimulate the arms race.

On Monday, May 22, the appeals of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, of the National Council of Working People, of the National Peace Committee, of the Romanian Orthodox Church, of the National Women's Council, of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, of the Council of the Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania, of the National Council of the Young Pioneers Organization, of the Roman Catholic Church, of the National Union of Producer Cooperative Farms, of the Armenian Gregorian Church and of the Socialist Democracy and Union Organization were handed over to the Headquarters of the Embassies of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Unites States of America, Canada and Great Britain in Bucharest.

The appeal of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania shows inter alia:

The millions of working people, trade union members in Romania, our whole people, deeply worried about the grave situation created, declare firmly against the NATO plans and programs of tactical weapons and short-range missiles updating and development, against any measure conducive to the intensification of nuclear arming, of any kind of arming, to endangering mankind's existence. They firmly support Romania's initiatives, President Nicolae Ceausescu's demarches and constant efforts for the achievement of an accord on 50 percent reduction of the strategic nuclear weapons, for averting the space militarization, for the cessation of all nuclear tests, the complete elimination by 2000 of all nuclear weapons, the liquidation of the other mass destruction weapons, the drastic reduction of the conventional weapons.

The trade unions, the working people in Romania, in full harmony with our whole people's aspirations after peace, call on your country's government to understand the gravity of the nuclear arming escalation and act responsibly toward the future of the peoples, abstaining from any measure of tactical weapon and short-range missile modernization, to speak up for the participation in negotiations conducive to the elimination of these weapons, to join resolutely in the efforts toward the definitive elimination of all mass destruction weapons and contribute to the building of a world of peace and collaboration, based on full equality among all nations of the world.

The appeal of the National Council of Working People of the Socialist Republic of Romania points out: The working people in our country are concerned about the forthcoming NATO session being to discuss the passage to the modernization of the short-range nuclear missiles. We are fully confident that, if this decision were applied, the nuclear arms race would know unprecedented intensification, completely annulling the effects of the reduction of the medium-range weapons and passing on to additional increase of the nuclear power as compared to that in existence before the conclusion of the Soviet-American accord.

We ardently urge all governments of the NATO countries to work together with the peace-loving forces in their own countries, in Europe and all over to the world, to make decisions that should not lead to the modernization and development of the short-range nuclear weapons and to firmly campaign for the beginning of negotiations toward their definitive elimination, toward concluding an accord on some 50 per cent reduction of the strategic nuclear weapons and the complete elimination by 2000 of all nuclear weapons.

The appeal highlights that the whole Romanian people reiterates its determination to increase its actions together with the democratic, progressive, realistically-minded forces all over the world to bar the way to intensifying the nuclear arming through the modernization of weapons, to reduce military expenditures and use the thus released funds to the benefit of every nation's progress and prosperity.

The appeal of the National Peace Committee expresses the confidence that the lofty mission of all states, especially of the countries in Europe and north America, the most heavily armed regions of the world, is to work against the danger of confrontation and war, for detente and international understanding, for peace.

The National Peace Committee in Romania urges the governments of the NATO member countries to do their utmost for the renunciation of the plans of short-range missile modernization, to contribute to the starting of multilateral negotiations on the complete elimination of the nuclear arsenals by 2000.

The appeal of the National Women's Council highlights the deep worry of the millions of women in Romania about the NATO countries' intention to discuss at the end of this month the passage to the modernization and development of the short-range nuclear missiles, stressing that it is necessary, in the interests of the triumph of reason, of all European peoples' ideals of peace and security, that any action of modernization of these categories of nuclear missiles be given up.

We call on you to make every effort for disarmament, nuclear above all, by saying a resolute no to the modernization of the short-range nuclear missiles, to most firmly work for the complete elimination of the nuclear, chemical weapons, for a radical reduction of the conventional weapons and military expenditures.

The appeal of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the Council of the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania and the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization urges the NATO member states to put an end to the plans of short-range nuclear missile modernization, to avoid any measure that might entail serious prejudice for the process of building an atmosphere of confidence world-wide.

We also invite our fellow young people all over the world, all peoples, political factors, to say together, in the name of our future, a resolute no to the nuclear and chemical weapons, to the arms race, and to work with all forces for the building of a world of peace, international understanding and cooperation, the appeal shows.

The appeal of the Romanian Orthodox Church stresses:

The Romanian Orthodox Church has always raised its voice when life itself was threatened by adversities of fate. Therefore today, when mankind's survival is on the threshold of new threats, the hierarchs, the clergy and orthodox faithfuls in Romania join our whole people in which we have our origin and from which we derive our faith, and invite your governments and peoples to be in this crucial circumstance up to the burning requirements of the European peoples, of all peoples, to free themselves from the ghost of nuclear destruction and dedicate their creative energies to the building of a peaceful and happy life in all continents of the planet.

As citizens of a peace-loving country that has made of the defence of peace a real creed, we wholeheartedly sustain the ardent appeals of our distinguished President Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, that the NATO plans of modernization of the tactical weapons and short-range nuclear missiles be given up, that the insane arms race generally be curbed, that action be firmly taken for the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons.

The appeal of the Roman-Catholic Church in Romania reads:

Together with the whole Romanian people, the faithfuls, priests, bishops and the other servants of the Roman-Catholic Church in Romania have learned with worry that the heads of state and government of the NATO countries planned to discuss the question of modernizing the tactical weapons and the short-range nuclear missiles.

Relying upon our oath of faith, upon our full unity of thought and feeling of all Roman-Catholic faithfuls in Europe and in the world, we are sure that the application of the NATO plans will endanger our peoples' collaboration, life and civilization. Therefore, we address our ardent appeal to all political and military leaders in the NATO countries to renounce the application of the modernization of the tactical weapons and of the short-range missiles.

The appeal of the Armenian-Gregorian Church shows that the NATO plan to modernize the short-range nuclear missiles results in curbing the process of detente, worsening the international situation, in new dangers that threaten mankind's peaceful work, life itself on earth.

The Armenian clergy and faithfuls in Romania, the appeal further shows, as sons of a peace-loving country, sustain the conception and stands expressed on various occasions by Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, our country's president, for persevering action to be taken toward the beginning of negotiations on the definitive elimination of these weapons, as this is the only reasonable solution for mankind's survival.

We warmly urge you to do everything possible for an end to be put to the actions of modernization of the tactical weapons and of the short-range missiles, for the halting of the arms race, for the reduction of the weapons and military expenditures, for ensuring a climate of peace and security for the whole of mankind.

More Appeals To Halt Plans

AU2305194189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1822 GMT 23 May 89

["Appeals for the Renunciation of the Updating of Nuclear Weapons by NATO Countries"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/05/1989—On May 23, at the headquarters of the Embassies of Italy, the Netherlands, Greece, the Federal Republic of Germany and Spain in Bucharest the appeals to the governments and the public organizations of the respective countries for the renunciation by NATO countries of the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles were handed over on behalf of the Romanian National Committee "Scientists and Peace", the Foreign Policy and International Economic Cooperation Commission and the Defence Commission of the Grand National Assembly, the National Council of the Red Cross Society, the National Council of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management, the General Union of Handicraft Cooperatives, the Central Union of Producer Cooperative Farms, of Acquisition and Sales of Commodities, the Writers' Union, the Architects' Union, the Union of Scientific Associations of the Teaching Staff, the Union of Medical Sciences Associations, the Romanian Committee of Former Fighters and Veterans of the War Against Fascism, the National Council for Physical Education and Sport, the Jurists' Association, the Journalists' Council, as well as several denominations in Romania.

The same day handing over appeals at the headquarters of the embassies of other NATO countries—Turkey, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Greece—were the delegations of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, the National Council of Working People, the National Peace Committee, the National Women's Council, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the Council of the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania, the National Council of the Young Pioneers Organization, the Romanian Orthodox Church, the National Union of Producer Cooperative Farms, the Roman Catholic Church of Romania, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization, the Armenian Gregorian Church of Romania.

PEC Meeting Praises Ceausescu's CSSR Visit

AU1905200389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 19 May 89

["High Appreciation for President Nicolae Ceausescu's Visit to Czechoslovakia"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 19/5/1989—The Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], which gathered on Friday, May 19, heard a report in connection with the friendly working visit Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, paid to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic upon an invitation extended by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of the productive results of the visit and of the talks President Nicolae Ceausescu conducted with Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the new summit dialogue opening prospects for the more intensive development of the traditional links of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, for their mutual benefit, for the benefit of the general cause of socialism, progress and peace in the world.

Stress was laid on the significance of the joint conclusions reached during the talks on the further strengthening of the Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation in the political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields, as well as in other areas of activity. In that respect, the importance was underscored of the measures agreed upon to expand cooperation in and specialization of production in various areas, of the more marked growth of commodity exchanges, in line with the provisions of the long-term programme for the development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration until the year 2000, as well as with the growing economic potential of Romania and of Czechoslovakia.

Satisfaction was expressed at the fact that during the summit dialogue the joint will had been expressed to intensify co-operation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which play a decisive role in the general development of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

The Executive Political Committee highlighted the special significance of the exchange of opinions between Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak and of the joint conclusions reached on the occasion on a number of issues related to socialist construction, the role of communist parties and of the socialist states in the process of building the new system, the need to continuously strengthen socialist property, to firmly promote the principles of scientific socialism in the entire work of revolutionarily transforming society.

Appreciation was expressed for the fact that during the talks the determination of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, of the Socialist Republic of Romania and of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was reiterated to work, together with the other socialist countries, with all the progressive, democratic and realistic forces everywhere for the strengthening of security and cooperation and for confidence-building in Europe, for the ensurance of peace and the achievement of disarmament, for the building of a better and more just world, in which all nations may concentrate their efforts on their free, independent development, on the road of economic and social progress.

Approving of the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee requested the government, the ministries and the other central bodies to take the necessary measures for the unswerving implementation of the understandings reached at top level, which impart ever broader dimensions and an ever richer content to the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations in all areas.

Ceausescu Greets LCY President on Election

AU2205202589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 May 89 p 5

[Message from Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, to Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, on his election to office]

[Text] To Comrade Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Legue of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]

Esteemed Comrade Milan Pancevski: On the occasion of your election to the office of president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee, and on my own behalf, I convey to you warm congratulations and wishes for much success in fulfilling the highly responsible mission bestowed on you and in implementing the objectives of socialist construction in your country, for the well-being and the prosperity of the peoples in the neighboring and friendly Yugoslavia.

I express my firm belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the LCY and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the SFRY will continue to develop in the spirit of the understandings reached at summit level, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Dascalescu Receives Bank of China President

AU2305184389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1758 GMT 23 May 89

["Premier Constantin Dascalescu Receives the Governor of the People's Bank of China"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/05/1989—On Tuesday, 23 May, Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, received Li Guixian, State Councilor, governor of the People's Bank of China.

In keeping with the resolutions covenanted during summit meetings and talks, the interview underscored the good Romanian-Chinese ties of friendship and collaboration, the existing possibilities for the further development of the economic relations between the two countries and, in this context, in the financing and banking domain.

Andrei Meets Australian Foreign Trade Official

AU2305184089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 23 May 89

["Romanian-Australian Economic Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/05/1989—On 23 May Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, received the delegation headed by Colin Rodgers, assistant secretary for foreign trade questions in Australia's Foreign Affairs and Trade Department, co-chairman in the Romanian-Australian Joint Governmental Commission of Economic Collaboration under way in Bucharest.

The interview was attended by the Romanian co-chairman in the Joint Commission, Gheorghe Badita, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Present was Francis William Somerville Milne, Australia's ambassador to Bucharest.

Ivascu Receives Mexican Parliamentary Group

AU2205182789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1716 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/05/1989—At the invitation of the Grand National Assembly (Romania's Parliament), over 18-22 May, a delegation of Mexican senators, headed by Alfonso Martinez Dominguez, chairman of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Mexican Senate, paid a visit to Romania.

The Mexican delegation was received at the Grand National Assembly [GNA] by Marin Ivascu, GNA deputy chairman.

In this framework, information was exchanged on the activity and concerns of the two parliamentary fora, on the contribution they can make to the development of bilateral links of collaboration in domains of mutual interest, to the promotion of a climate of understanding and peace the world over.

The guests also had interviews with executives of the Foreign Affairs Ministry and of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and visited public facilities and socio-cultural establishments in Bucharest and Prahova County.

During the Romanian visit of the Mexican senators, the ambassador of that country in Bucharest, Mario Armando Amador Duron, gave a dinner.

RCP Cables Greetings to Moroccan Party Congress

AU2205110589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0849 GMT 22 May 89

["RCP's Message of Salute to the Congress of Istiqlal Party of Morocco"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] In behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], of its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the participants in the 12th Congress of the Istiqlal Party of Morocco were conveyed a warm friendly salute and feelings of esteem and friendship, by Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium.

Summit talks and meetings between the two party leaders and between other highly responsible political factors in the two countries laid the foundation of lasting relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Istiqlal Party, between the Romanian and Moroccan peoples—the address of salute shows. The belief is expressed that by joint efforts ways and means to develop and intensify these links can be found, to the benefit of the Romanian and Moroccan peoples, of the cause of international peace and cooperation.

The fact is evinced in the address of salute that although positive steps have been made along the way of disarmament, the international situation continues most serious and complex. Given the continuation of the arms race, all progressive forces should rally their efforts for the achievement of specific disarmament measures, nuclear first of all, for the defense of people's and nations' foremost right to freedom and life.

The RCP has always maintained that the huge material and human resources engaged in the arms race should be used to eradicate underdevelopment, illiteracy, maladies and to develop education, to bridge the gap between rich and poor countries and to establish a new international economic order, based on relations of equity and economic and social justice.

Convinced that the use of force in international links cannot help solve disputes—the address of salute says—we have consistently campaigned for the promotion of negotiations as the unique alternative in the extinction of hotbeds of tension and conflict, for the establishment of a climate of esteem and trust among people.

For the settlement of the complicated problems in the international life, the RCP considers that it is necessary that all progressive revolutionary and democratic forces should assert their unity nationally and internationally in the struggle for peace, disarmament, democracy and social progress. Hence—it is shown in conclusion—we develop and strengthen the cooperative links with communist and worker, socialist and social-democratic, liberal and radical parties, based on the observance of each party's right to work out its revolutionary strategy and tactics, contingent upon specific conditions, with no outside interference and the respect of its autonomy, independence and sovereignty.

Moroccan Party Leader Receives Constantin

AU2205183689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1757 GMT 22 May 89

["Romanian-Moroccan Exchange of Messages at Top Level"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Rabat, AGERPRES, 22/05/1989—The secretary-general of the Istiqlal [Independece] Party of Morocco, Mohamed Boucetta, received Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], chairman of the party Central Collegium, who represented the Romanian Communist Party to the Twelfth Congress of the Istiqlal Party of Morocco. On the occasion, the Moroccan leader was conveyed a warm friendly salute from RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu as well as sincere congratulations on his reelection as secretary-general of the party, wishes of success in fulfilling the lofty mission he was entrusted with.

Expressing his deep gratitude for the wishes and congratulations, the secretary-general of the Istiqlal Party of Morocco requested that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a friendly salute and the best wishes of health, and the Romanian people wishes of success in economic and social development, of prosperity and happiness.

During the interview possibilities were approached of broadening and deepening the relations between the two parties, for the benefit of the Romanian and Moroccan peoples, of the cause of international peace and understanding.

Japanese Businessmen Discuss Joint Committee

AU2205135689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1112 GMT 22 May 89

["Favorable Prospects for a Vigorous Growth of Romanian-Japanese Exchanges"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/05/1989—Bucharest has recently boasted the proceedings of the 11th session of the Romanian-Japan Joint Economic Committee.

Examined were new ways and means of expanding and diversifying the bilateral commercial exchanges on mutually rewarding bases, deepening the industrial and technico-scientific cooperation between Romanian enterprises and Japanese firms in fields of common interest, widening the Romanian-Japanese work-together in third markets.

The chairman of the Japanese party in the Japan-Romania Joint Economic Committee, Mr Zenji Umeda, counsellor to Kawasaki Industries, and the vice-chairman of the

Japanese party in the committee, Mr Shoichi Tanaka, counsellor to Nissho Iwai Corporation granted an interview with the ROMANIAN NEWS review.

Mr Zenji Umeda said inter alia: We had the honour of being received by his excellency President Nicolae Ceausescu. On that occasion we learned details of the prospects of the Romanian economy's development in the light of the reimbursement of the foreign debt and considering the future five-year plan starting in 1990. Also, your president was kind enough to explain to us, in detail, the prospects of economic development until 1995 and even until year 2000.

During our reception by your president, yesterday, I proposed that the volume of our commercial exchanges should reach 200 million dollars in 1992. In reply to my proposal the president suggested that we should reach 500 million until 1992 and 700 million until 1995, while ten years from now we should reach a mutual exchange volume of one billion dollars.

We had the opportunity to listen to your president speaking about the payment of the foreign debt. This event strongly impressed us. What I mean is that not only the Japanese businessmen or politicians, but also common people, the Japanese people, are highly appreciative of the Romanian people's efforts and perseverance to pay off the foreign debt in a short period of time.

It is a noteworthy fact that the Japanese private firms maintained their representations, their presence in Bucharest, so that the commercial relations between our countries should continue uninfluenced by the less favourable conditions for carrying out a commercial activity and in spite of the fact that, under those circumstances we sold fewer goods to Romania. On the occasion of my reception by the president of Romania I asked for further support and guidance to be granted to the representatives of the Japanese firms in Bucharest, so that we could contribute more to the future development of the commercial relations between our countries.

Of course, when President Nicolae Ceausescu suggested to us a 500 million dollar figure that is a 50 per cent growth on our initial figure until 1992, I spontaneously thanked him for the thought he expressed of further raising the level of our economic ties. To be honest, I did not think then of the ways and possibilities to attain this figure. But on second thoughts it no longer seems to me an unrealistic figure which cannot be reached. As I have already said additional, much greater efforts are necessary on both sides. But I am convinced we can reach this figure. Certainly in order to attain it we must take into account not only the direct commercial exchanges between Romania and Japan. We must direct our attention more to the big Japanese firms and representations in Bucharest in order to boost our business volume in third markets. Taking into consideration our business in third markets I think that this figure is attainable and realistic.

Mr Shoichi Tanaka, vice-chairman of the Japanese party in the Joint Economic Committee in Japan there has been, for some time, a movement, let's say a tendency of enlarging the import of foreign products, and in this context we think that Japanese firms will make even more serious efforts to find Romanian products that may be imported in larger amounts for the Japanese market. I say that especially because the volume of two-way commercial exchanges in the last three years has averaged 200 million dollars. Against the background of Romania's reimbursing its foreign debt, its imports from Japan have decreased in the last few years, while our imports of products from Romania have grown. Moreover, I should mention the fact that, last year for instance thanks to the Japanese firms' efforts, 80 million dollar worth of Romanian products were sold in third markets. Considering this trend, I believe there are favourable prospects for the further development of exchanges, to which the ongoing session of the joint economic committee will also contribute.

In my opinion there are favourable prospects for the growth of the commercial exchange volume. I should like to stress two important elements. Firstly, I think that following the reimbursement of its foreign debt, Romania will pass on to modernizing its industry and will need new equipment—from Japan included—for its modernization programme. Secondly, as a result of this modernization, Romania will produce more goods, more efficiently, which will create conditions for exporting a greater amount of Romanian products to Japan.

As I said during the committee session the realization of my proposal to stage a Romanian exhibition in Japan in 1990 would contribute to the development of our ties.

Najibullah Thanks Ceausescu for Greetings

AU2305185789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 May 89 p 5

[Message from Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Republic of Afghanistan to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], the government, the Afghan people, and on my own behalf, I take pleasure in expressing deep gratitude to the RCP Central Committee, the Romanian Government, and the Romanian people for the friendly message conveyed to us on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the revolution in Afghanistan.

I am firmly convinced that the Romanian-Afghan relations of friendship and cooperation will continue to develop and consolidate for the benefit of the people in our countries and in the interest of peace and security in the world.

I would like to take this opportunity to convey to you wishes for good health and for increasingly greater successes on the path of ensuring peace and prosperity to the the people in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the Republic of Afghanistan

'Arafat Message of Thanks to Ceausescu

AU2305212589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 May 89 p 5

[Cable from Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, to President Nicolae Ceausescu]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On behalf of the government, the Palestinian people, the PLO, and on my own behalf, I want to express our thanks to you, the party, government, and to the friendly Romanian people for the congratulatory message you extended on my election as president of the State of Palestine.

It is a great responsibility which I have assumed in this historic decisive period of our people's struggle against colonialism and occupation, a struggle that needs support and the help of friends.

I am fully convinced that you will be on our side, as you have always been, and that you will support the just struggle of our people under the PLO, their legitimate representative.

On this occasion, I want to reaffirm the Palestinian Arab people's determination to continue their just struggle and the glorious intifada to put a halt to the Israeli occupation and to establish an independent state with its capital in Jerusalem.

I want to thank you, esteemed Comrade President, and the friendly Romanian people for this firm and principled position toward the just struggle of our people to regain and exercise their inalienable rights, including the right to returning home, to self-determination, and to creating an independent state with its capital in Jerusalem.

I want to take this opportunity to assure you of our consistent position on continuing and further developing relations of friendship and solidarity between our friendly peoples.

I wish you much good health, happiness, and success in leading your friendly people on the road to achieving their aspirations for progress and prosperity.

Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee

Fighting Negligence in Livestock Sector Viewed

AU2405082789

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 19 May carries on page 3 a 2,500-word unsigned feature on preventing and combating disruptions and mistakes in the livestock sector. Under the headline "Developing and Defending Socialist Property—A Responsibility of the Entire Collectivity and of Each Person," the daily provides a block of reports from livestock farms in several counties—Dolj, Bihor, Brasov, Giurgiu, Salaj, Cluj, Harghita, and Caras-Severin—where general meetings were held to examine, "in a revolutionary spirit of high exactingness," the "irresponsible acts" committed by management cadres in various livestock farms, who, "ignoring warnings received concerning a possible sudden change in weather," issued instructions for cattle and sheep to be taken out to pasture, thus allowing them to be caught in bad weather; the article goes on to say that "consequently, many animals died or had to be slaughtered prematurely."

The daily says that "being informed about these incidents," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked that "the facts, attitudes, and causes that have led to this situation should be discussed in public, in the general meetings of the respective units." Concrete examples of proceedings in such general meetings are given—at Simian agricultural farm in Bihor County, at Tomulesti cooperative, Giurgiu County, at Suseni and Sincraineni farms, Harghita County, and at Baciu cooperative, Cluj County. The managerial cadres addressing the meetings admit their "guilt" and express "deep regret" over these "acts of negligence," which have "damaged the socialist property of all." They pledge to "never allow such things to happen again" and promise to "recover all losses incurred and also ensure the fulfillment of all plan targets for this year."

The feature concludes that "the main responsibility for what happened rests with the party bodies and organizations in agriculture," which are dutybound to "constantly supervise the observance of law provisions, labor standards, order, and discipline" and to adopt an "active and combative attitude toward all violations." Hence, it is necessary to carry out a "broad political and educational activity" to "strengthen and develop socialist property and the responsibility of the working people, in their capacity as owners and producers, for properly administering and developing the whole nation's property."

Loncar Holds Talks With Hungary's Gyula Horn

LD2305170189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)—In the talks which started today in Belgrade, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and his host Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, informed one another about the internal situations in their countries.

The guest from Hungary, who arrived in Belgrade today, stressed the fundamental social and economic reform in Hungary. Our aim is, he said, to create a state of law whereby the rights of every citizen will be fully protected.

The federal secretary spoke about the reform of the economy and the political system in Yugoslavia. He also informed his guest about events in Kosovo and constitutional changes in Serbia.

They concluded that there are points of contact in the current reforms in Hungary and Yugoslavia. It was stated that the reforms could not be isolated from the rest of the world, in particular without taking into account events in Europe. Bilateral relations between the two countries were assessed as very friendly. The two ministers also exchanged views on some international themes.

Poland's Rakowski To Pay Working Visit 24 May

LD2305190989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1734 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)—Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, is to pay an official working visit to Yugoslavia on 24 and 25 May 1989. During the visit Rakowski is to have talks with Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council.

The talks are expected to cover issues of bilateral cooperation, primarily in the economic sphere, some issues of international relations and the nature of changes in the two countries.

In addition to well-developed overall relations between the SFRY and the Polish People's Republic and successful economic cooperation—annual trade amounts to about $920 million—there is also a strong common interest in the potential for even closer links between the two economies. The recently signed long-term program of economic and scientific-technical cooperation up to the year 2000 provides stable foundations for this. The program is geared toward advancing cooperation in line with realistic needs and contemporary scientific and technological development in the world. Both countries are trying to use current reform processes in the two countries to this end.

Markovic on Measures To 'Unburden' Economy

LD2305044989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—The entire Federal Executive Council [FEC] program is anti-inflationary. No move hitherto made is accidental; each is logical, well thought through, and is already yielding results, FEC President Ante Markovic stressed during today's talks with a team of TANJUG editors, led by TANJUG Director Mihailo Saranovic.

Clearly, we must be patient in order to curb the inflation, since according to the FEC president, its scope has begun to narrow. From what the FEC president said, it could be concluded that first results are coming in the not-too-distant future.

In the course of the talks with the TANJUG editors, at which FEC General Secretary Zoran Miskovic was present, Ante Markovic drew attention to the fact that in the first 4 months of this year, industrial production revived by 3 percent in comparison with the same period last year, and that in April alone it increased by 4.2 percent. Foreign currency savings, which during the last month increased to the tune of $200 million, have increased considerably. It is especially important that foreign currency reserves increased by about $300 million in April and part of May, while imports did not decrease, but on the contrary, increased by 24 percent.

Markovic also said that new measures to unburden the economy are being undertaken and that they will follow soon. The former moves, particularly regarding the liberalization of imports and the proposed rebalancing of the budget, which would include extrabudgetary expenses, would unburden the economy to the tune of $3 billion.

As soon as next Thursday, the FEC will make important decisions regarding the normalization of the situation in the credit and monetary sphere, which is of the utmost importance for halting inflation.

During the talks, the FEC president expressed interest in the work and development programs of the TANJUG news agency.

Press Analyzes Markovic Economic Policies

LD2205210289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1545 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—First moves by Yugoslavia's new Prime Minister Ante Markovic towards the introduction of market principles to the exhausted Yugoslav economy have met general approval throughout the country.

Two and a half months later, Markovic received first objections, all prompted by the same motive. By opting for long-term resolving of problems and by striking at the very roots of inflation, Markovic has deliberately rejected the "urgent" and "temporary" anti-inflation measures.

Inflation therefore continues to rise, currently reaching nearly 500 percent. The public increasingly often wonders whether an average Yugoslav will be able to keep pace with its further rise, unavoidable before its coming to a halt, and why the government persistently refuses to formulate its anti-inflation programme.

The loudest calls for the formulation of the programme are coming from the underdeveloped parts of the country, where difficult economic situation threatens to result in social unrests. The absence of concrete anti-inflation measures is in those parts assessed as preventing every effort towards effective operation from producing results. Those parts of the country also demand that all available means be used in fighting inflation.

This is best illustrated by an estimation of the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES that "calls for calm and patience, and assurances that nothing can be resolved overnight sound cynical." One has to know when to expect daylight and who is to do what, when and in what way in order to stop inflation, the paper said.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA also urges the formulation of an anti-inflation programme, quoting statements by five leading economists. In principle, they support Markovic's intention to stop the price rise by increasing the production, warning, nevertheless, that this is not enough. They criticize Markovic's cabinet for failing to give an impetus to the resolving of the problems of exchange rate difference, enormous general and collective consumption, internal debts and large administrative expenditures.

Markovic, however, still gives favourable comments here. The Zagreb daily VJESNIK expects Markovic's cabinet to open an anti-inflation arsenal of measures next year and estimates that "the government is not inclined to improvisations and rash moves."

According to the Belgrade daily BORBA, the federal government has not been neglecting inflation at any moment and all its moves are part of a strategy aiming at achieving slower price rise.

It is perfectly clear that restraints such as freezing and other administrative restrictions would not curb the market and economic chaos which has been created through the year, said the paper and added that "the creation of a market is painful and expensive, but the price has to be paid, even under 1,500 percent inflation." According to BORBA "everything else constitutes only the purchasing of short-term political and social peace."

2-Month-Old Federal Budget To Be Rebalanced

LD2305125189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1014 GMT 23 May 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)—The federal budget this year will amount to 65.88 trillion dinars, "thanks" above all to inflation, which has forced the federal government to rebalance the budget only 2 months after the Yugoslav Assembly approved it. [passage omitted]

This year's federal budget, adopted in mid-March was 20.6 trillion dinars, but even then it was clear that this sum would not "hold water" because inflation was moving ahead of its own accord. The rebalancing which is being offered now, envisions a sum of 65.88 trillion dinars, which compared to last year is up by 292.3 percent. [passage omitted]

In keeping with efforts to cut spending, almost all items in the federal budget have been reduced by a few percent.

The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], as the largest beneficiary of the budget, can this year count on 4.6 percent of estimated national income, which is 11.5 percent less than the amount of funds which should be secured according to the social plan. This rebalancing of the budget does not include funds to meet YPA obligations from last year (458.9 billion dinars) nor 258.4 billion dinars to cover extraordinary expenditures in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The rebalanced budget will secure a total of 34.92 trillion dinars this year for the financing the YPA.

Milojevic Elected First Woman SAWPY President

LD2305122589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)—For the first time in the history of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] a woman has become its leader. This is Jelena Milojevic, a (?sociologist), who was today unanimously elected as president of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

She has taken over this post from Bozidar Colakovic, whose 1-year mandate has expired.

The Vojvodina SAWP (?proposed) Jelena Milojevic as president of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

UN Delegate Challenges Albania on Human Rights

AU2405083289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 May 89 p 15

[TANJUG report—"How 'Certain Slavs' Live and 'Enjoy Rights' in Albania"]

[Text] United Nations, 19 May—At yesterday evening's debate of the UN Socioeconomic Council's Social Committee, Slobodan Kotevski, the Yugoslav representative, called on Albania to allow the international community to view the real situation of the Yugoslav national minorities living in Albania. Yugoslavia is an open country, Kotevski said, and everybody can see for himself how members of the Albanian nationality live there.

This challenge was presented in the course of Kotevski's altercation with the Albanian representative on the committee, although in fact Albania is not a member of this body but takes advantage of its so-called "right to reply," as is usual at forums of this world organization.

Bashkim Petarka, the Albanian ambassador to the UN, took the floor twice, and both times, in the usual style of the propaganda of the country he represents, slung mud at Yugoslavia.

Turning to Slobodan Kotevski, he first said that "people in glass houses should not throw stones," and added that "Yugoslavia should be the last to raise the question of national minorities."

It is true, he "admitted," that "a certain Slav minority" lives in southeast Albania, but he claimed that its members "enjoy every right," and that this has allegedly been established by a certain Yugoslav delegation which toured the villages where these "Slavs" live.

Petarka also stated that every violation of the rights of the national minorities in Albania is punishable under the criminal code. However, Kosovo was the central theme in his speech, in which he spoke of the "tragic events" of which, according to him, the world public is already aware following reports in the foreign press.

Stressing that it was exceptional for the Yugoslav delegation to comment on the statements of another delegation, Slobodan Kotevski nevertheless made use of his right to reply to state that he was astonished at the special irony that the representative of a country that does not accept the elementary human rights of the national minorities within its borders and which claims to be the first atheist state in the world should enter into controversy on this matter.

"Because of all this," Kotevski said, "Albania would do more good for its own people and its international reputation if it were to secure for its own citizens even a part of the civil rights which the Albanians, alongside the members of all the other peoples of the country, enjoy in Yugoslavia."

Citing examples of Albania's overt interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs through the encouragement of separatist groups and the advancement of territorial aspirations at Yugoslavia's expense which would lead to the creation of "Greater Albania," the Yugoslav representative stressed that it is Yugoslavia's sovereign right to take such measures on its own territory that will prevent such intrigues and subversive activities against its integrity and sovereignty.

The Albanian ambassador then used his "right to reply" a second time to repeat even more impudently his slanders relating to the events in Kosovo, and to assert that "one can read the best and most accurate reports of these events in a section of the Yugoslav press." Earlier, during Kotevski's speech, Petarka had, in the most undiplomatic fashion, rapped the table with a ruler.

The Romanian representative availed himself of the same right in order to express his "regret" that Yugoslavia had raised the question of its minorities in Romania, and to stress that his country would like "the Romanian minority in Yugoslavia to enjoy the same rights as the Serbian minority in Romania."

Without entering into the controversy, Slobodan Kotevski replied that Yugoslavia's intervention over the question of the dispatch of a special investigator of the Commission for Human Rights was a matter of principle and of trust in the work of the world organization.

The reaction of the Albanian representative shows that a direct hit has been scored by the decision to present before the largest international tribunal the Yugoslav point of view of Albania's role in the Kosovo events. For months, if not years, Albanian propaganda has been circulating its pamphlets to delegates and journalists throughout the world organization, vilifying Yugoslav policies, and not only with regard to the events in Kosovo. For the sake of good-neighborliness and for other reasons, Yugoslavia has not until now made use of its right to criticize Albania publicly, even over such obvious matters as violations of human rights with regard to national minorities or interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

There is the hope that this Yugoslav step before the world organization will, in the eyes of the broadest international public, at least be a small lesson to an anything but well-meaning neighbor.

237 People Placed in 'Isolation' in Kosovo

LD2305205589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1929 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Pristina, May 23 (TANJUG)—Interior Secretary of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo Jusuf Karakushi today announced that 237 people had been placed in isolation and procedures against them had been "instituted strictly in accordance with the law."

Speaking at a session of the provincial party leadership, Karakushi stressed that the imposition of this measure in the exceptional conditions created in Kosovo after the February wave of strikes and March demonstrations by ethnic Albanian separatists was envisaged under a Yugoslav constitutional provision and the law on Kosovo's internal affairs.

He specified that the measure of isolation had been applied mostly to persons who had acted from the positions of Albanian separatism and had earlier been held on criminal charges for such activity, those who were suspected that they might organize further unrests and those against whom there was evidence they were engaged in illegal activity. Isolation has been applied against smugglers of weapons belived to have been used in the March separatist unrests, Karakushi said. These persons were found to be in possession of three submachine guns, two automatic rifles, 21 army rifles, 71 pistols and 2400 rounds of ammunition.

Karakushi also said that, of the 237 persons in "isolation", criminal proceedings had been instituted against 23, evidence was still being collected in the cases of 28, 12 had been sentenced for misdemeanor, 50 had been released and the rest would be "released when conditions have been created for their release".

The Yugoslav public learned in mid-May about the Kosovo police having applied the little known measure of "isolation" against certain individuals following the March unrests of ethnic Albanian separatists. The fact was made public by Josip Vrhovec, until recently member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, who assessed that not only was constitutional authority exceeded in the application of the measure, but that international conventions on human rights signed by Yugoslavia were violated, too.

At last week's plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, Enver Sehovic of Croatia described as "shameful" the application in Yugoslavia of "the institution of indefinite isolation of people in an unknown place and without access to legal protection". He assessed this measure as characeristic of "totalitarian Latin American regimes and another type of socialism" and suggested to the Central Committee to propose an ablition of the measure.

The provincial interior secretary did not specify to which strata of society most of the persons in isolation came from. The Zagreb weekly DANAS writes in its latest issue that, "according to some indications at the disposal of the Yugoslav human rights forum, most of the isolated are intellectuals".

Commentary on Expressed Support for Separatists

AU2305204389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 89 p 6

[Ljubodrag Stojadinovic commentary: "Insinuations Even About the Army"]

[Text] Plenums of the highest party forum have long ceased to be "crucial." Even the tension, support for one's own team, and unexpected moves have all gone, and more and more the acute drama is turning into a disharmonious grotesque. Despite some humorous epilogues, this unserious attitude toward the central party work is far from being a reason to take things easy. There is, however, a sufficient number of reasons for calmer reasoning, because the most important things have finally been explained: We disagree about essential questions. Why was it necessary to hold several exhausting marathon sessions in installments about the same topic only to come to such a banal discovery? Why has Kosovo and its nurtured trauma become a metaphor for a general rift and how is it possible that the fanatical chauvinism aimed at brutally destroying Yugoslavia receives overt signals of support from some parts of the same country?

It might be too late to wait for patient and calm historians, who find it possible to explain the inexplicable and the results of their research, analysis, and search for analogies. Viewed from a current and not from a distant point of view, the overall separatist version is increasingly losing its necessary delicacy and refinement suitable for appearing in public. Now that the street fanaticism of Albanian chauvinists in Kosovo has faded, some Central Committee members pathetically pay tribute to "innocent victims" among those chauvinists, being well aware of the mythical symbolism of "fallen warriors." Such melodramatic political kitsch of the worst kind has again been presented to the public as a model of tough resistance to the emergency measures in Kosovo. It is no longer surprising that it (the model) has been rather crudely tailored and that its basic ideological trump card is spreading fear of the methods used to curb a militant separatist movement. In analyzing secession what may be involved is the hidden fear of a possible analogy being made so that examples of an otherwise incomparable military intervention are even "invoked." Crudely and ignorantly comparing Kosovo with Czechoslovakia is not only sad proof of an elementary ignorance about one's own country whose destiny one would like to influence. What is involved is a far more serious sin than vulgar political barrenness: the intention—not shrewd, but a cunning and deceitful one—to attach to the Army the label of having carried out an intervention on "foreign" territory. This thesis was disseminated with a dose of unfounded self-assuredness and has left an unpleasant impression, but it contains at least two premises about the strong conflict between every kind of separatism and the Yugoslav People's Army. In fact, supporters of any form of division attribute a "totalitarian" and "unitarian" nature to the Army and do so particularly when the Army does not agree with their destructive theses and intentions. It is only normal that the Army cannot agree with them, and it is mostly for that reason that it is burdened with the undeserved guilt of being an authentic symbol of the "firm hand" policy.

What has happened at the plenum in this connection? General Mirkovic had to reiterate some reasons because of which the measures had been introduced and because of which they will undoubtedly continue to be necessary for some time to come. Such a number of reasons could not be questioned either indirectly or directly. Nevertheless, several people with well-known faces and well-known views spoke afterward, seasoning their speeches with a necessary quantity of general philanthropy. One could not avoid hearing a lecture about saving the lives of those blind nationalists who attacked the country and the lives of those people who were defending it.

The plenum was not without results despite its midnight finale. However, its achievements do not fall under the well-known ritual of uncompromised agreement. It was shown more clearly than ever that the most extremist adversaries of the decision on introducing special measures were the people who, with their political and other behavior, contributed considerably to them. Therefore, one must believe that when they said what they said and did what they did they defended their political "reputation" and their own interpretation of other people's freedom.

TANJUG Examines Serbian Minority in Region

LD1705100189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0814 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, May 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's dialogue with its neighbours on ethnic minorities is recording varying results—it is progressing with Hungary, encountering growingly numerous difficulties with Romania, being rejected by Albania. Yugoslavia, which consistently pursues its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, including neighbouring states, has always regarded ethnic minorities as bridges of friendship between countries and nations. In some cases, however, practice has proved these bridges to be only one-way streets.

A debate on the position of the Serbian minority in neighbouring countries, held recently in the three commissions on international relations and cooperation of the assemblies of the Republic of Serbia and the Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, has shown that its position differs widely from country to country and is in some countries quite alarming.

The Hungarian Constitution guarantees to all ethnic minorities, including the Serbian minority of some 5,000, all rights and conditions for improving their social status and cherishing their national and cultural identities.

The Serbian ethnic minority in Hungary consists mainly of old people. With a natural assimilation of the young and departure of the old, there is possibility that there may be no Serbs left by the year 2000 in Hungary, where they have made a strong cultural and historical imprint.

The situation in Romania is substantially different. A census taken in 1977 showed a population of 34,000 Serbs as living in Romania, but their number is believed to be higher and closer to 50,000. In conformity with the Constitution which guarantees their equality, the Serbs have the right to cherish their traditions, they have primary schools in several towns, two secondary schools, a weekly and a monthly newspaper in the Serbian language. Nevertheless, it is the official tendency of the Romanian authorities to create an integral Romanian nation and the stand that Serbs, as well as members of other ethnic minorities, are only "Romanians of Serbian descent", clearly shows that ethnic minorities are subject to strong assimilation currents. The assimilation process has intensified with the government's recent decision on a compulsory use of the Romanian names of villages and towns. The number of Serbian children in ethnic schools in Romania is diminishing and the radio programme in the Serbian language has been discontinued under the power conservation scheme.

In more recent years, the stumbling block between the two countries has been illegal crossings into Yugoslavia of Romanian citizens who wish to emigrate to the West. Among them has been a number of Serbs from Romania, who wanted to settle in Yugoslavia. Until recently, they were being returned to Romania due to a lack of funds for their support, but this practice has been discontinued.

There has been no official information on the status of Serbs in Albania since World War Two, and Tirana denies that there are any Serbs in Albania at all.

On the basis of data collected by the Christian Orthodox Church before the war, it is estimated that there are some 20,000 Serbs among the 100,000 members of Yugoslav nations living in Albania today. The process of assimilation of Yugoslav minorities in Albania began after 1948, when they were accused of "Titoism" and stripped of all minority rights. This was only a part of a general policy to create an ethnically pure Albania.

Despite the complexity of the position of its national minorities in the neighbouring countries, Yugoslavia does not renounce its care for them. The three assembly commissions noted at their joint session that Albania and Romania should be sent aide-memoire with detailed arguments and explanations concerning not only the position of the minorities, but Yugoslavia's over-all relations with these countries, as well.

Trifunovic Elected New President of Serbian LC

LD2405091589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0902 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—Bogdan Trifunovic, the current president of the Presidium of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Republican Conference, was today elected president of the Presidium of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee at a session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium. Milomir Minic was elected secretary of the Presidium. Both Trifunovic and Minic were elected unanimously to their respective posts.

Milosevic Visits Work Collectives in Vojvodina

AU2305154089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] On the 2d day of his stay in Vojvodina, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, visited work collectives in Backa Palanka and Titovo Vrbas. Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Vojvodina Presidency, Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, and Mihajl Kertes, member of the Serbian Presidency were with Slobodan Milosevic. Nikola Bulatovic reports from Titovo Vrbas:

[Bulatovic] In Backa Palanka, Slobodan Milosevic toured the Majavica metal processing plant which is one of our large producers of tractor attachments and agricultural equipment. The example of this collective clearly shows that the reform of the economic system must be comprehensive because the good production in Majavica is almost pointless in the present situation where the agricultural sector is unable to buy equipment. In this connection, Slobodan Milosevic said:

[Begin Milosevic recording] The example of Majavica best demonstrates how matters can be resolved only when they are mutually connected within those changes that we have called the economic reform. For example, as you see, Majavica which is realizing 40 percent or two-fifths of its entire earnings through exports, nevertheless showed losses at the end of last year because its destiny is simply connected with agriculture, and agriculture is in a situation in which it is not a good partner for producers of agricultural machines, that is to say in simple terms that agricultural machines share the fate of agriculture.

This shows that through changes in our attitude toward agriculture above all and through a thorough reform in the area of agriculture, which is undoubtedly essential, we can improve not only the position of working people employed in the agricultural sector, but also the position of everything that is connected with agriculture, and in this case that is your production.

It is obvious that you will contribute to the stabilization of agriculture to the same extent that agriculture will contribute to stabilizing your production. It can thus be seen that matters can only be resolved together, that is, reform needs to be stratified and cannot be separated according to branches and sectors because the process of reproduction is simply indivisible. [end recording]

[Bulatovic] The Majavica collective presented Milosevic with a gold badge and a figure of a smelter, which is the collective's symbol.

In the Sintelon combine in Backa Palanka, our largest producer of floor and wall coverings, Milosevic was briefed on the results of the business operations of this collective which employs more than 2,500 people, and these results are excellent.

Addressing the representatives of Sintelon and the commune, Milosevic explained the point of raising a public loan in the Republic of Serbia which should above all revive investments in new production which will guarantee income. He also spoke about our exports to Eastern countries and in this connection said that trade with the USSR cannot be in the shade of our present surplus, but this cooperation must be long-term and follow the development of all our good mutual relations.

In Titovo Vrbas, Slobodan Milosevic had talks with representatives of this commune and then toured the sugar mill and the Carnex meat processing plant. On his way through Vojvodina today, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbia Presidency, was warmly welcomed in all places and even the schedule for his visit was changed. Outside of this schedule, he visited Celarevo and then went the long way to Titovo Vrbas through Gajdobra, Silbas, Despotovo, Savino Selo, and Kucura, where he was warmly welcomed and accompanied by several thousand people, as he was here in Titovo Vrbas.

Croatian LC Central Committee Plenum Reported

LD2305090389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0832 GMT 22 May 89

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 22 May (TANJUG)—The Croatian League of Communists [LC], not departing for one moment from the bases of the national policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] in the period under review, has tried to conduct a policy designed to stabilize both the situation in Croatia and in Yugoslavia. The essence of this policy is to reform the current model of socialism and to formulate and implement a new philosophy for development, which takes the individual and his interests and capabilities as its starting point. This assessment was expressed today by Croatian LC CC [Central Committee] Presidium member, Celestin Sardelic in his introductory report on current questions of interethnic relations in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia and the SFRY and the tasks of the LC at an expanded plenary session of the Croatia LC CC. The session is being presided over by Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Presidium of the Croatian LC CC.

We have oriented ourselves toward developing a new economic and social structure which will facilitate freer economic and social acitivites and in this way make socialism economically efficient, socially just, and politically democratic in this society. This is an orientation toward development and global scientific-technical and civilizing trends, an orientation toward the formation of a new identity of Yugoslavia as a modern European and nonaligned country. We see opportunities for the SR of Croatia, its citizens, and its nations and nationalities in this.

We believe, Sardelic stresses, in the full equality of the people and nations and nationalities in the SR of Croatia. Croatia's place in the Yugoslav federation is based on equality. This place can only be ensured on the basis of much more dynamic development. Taking the etatist model of socialism as the base, we realize that it has created stagnation and impoverishment, something which is clearly illustrated by the experience of other socialist countries, and that it will not solve our deeply rooted social, cultural, and ethnic problems. On the contrary, these problems are daily becoming more and more complex and difficult to solve. In this way, we are trying to preserve room for rational democratic dialogue and political activity at a time when the forces of discord, nationalism, and irrationality have penetrated into some official political options.

The basic purpose of this policy is to preserve relative political stability in Croatia and facilitate the formation and implementation of reform initiatives both in the republic and in the federation. Based on this position, we reacted in a clear and principled way to the processes of national integration; to the political use of nationalism designed to serve the struggle for power; to the incitement and spread of interethnic divisions and conflicts: to the spreading of nationalism and chauvinism; and to attacks on the concept of the equality of Yugoslav nations and nationalities and attacks on a federation based on equality and Tito's formula for resolving the nationalist question in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Nationalism in Yugoslavia is usually not portrayed in public—unless it is a matter of open separatism—as an antifederalist and anti-Yugoslav orientation. Nationalists do not explicitly question the framework of the Yugoslav state but focus on the position of "their" national communities within it. As diagnoses of this position are without exception defeating, they try to work out exclusive national programs. These programs are based on the excuse of national interests at the expense of all others. In each complex community this national exclusivity necessarily gives birth to conflicts, mutual hatred, and inter-ethnic "wars." In fact, they lead to the general destabilization of the state community, threatening each part of it in particular, and the community as a whole....

The SR of Croatia is today, like the whole country, an area for the expression of all these trends. This in no way means that they are equally present and significant in the republic's public political life. Yugoslav environments differ from each other today, among other things, in terms of the differing presence and influence of individual antifederalist trends in political life. The LC's task is to assess the political processes and relations in their environments, Sardelic believes. [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 7 and 8 not received]

It is explicitly stated that Serbophobia is rooted in the "Communist Movement of Yugoslavia" and that the Comintern created "its own center in Ljubljana and Zagreb," and from here two strictly national communist parties were exposed to "international ideas" in the direction of the eastern part of the country. It is further said that today in Yugoslavia there are "two centers from which moves are made against everything Serbian: One is in Pristina and the other is in the so-called central European part of Yugoslavia." [passage omitted]

However, despite all the efforts, indications are that inter-ethnic relations in Croatia are deteriorating. Here, unfortunately, our previous assessment, that the continuation of the process of national integration and inter-ethnic division is a Yugoslav problem and that it spreads and affects other environments, has proven correct. Increasingly we come across phenomena of national divisions and integration in individual environments in the republic. Neither the LC nor its leaderships in these environments are immune from this. This is a dangerous phenomenon which could lead to the destabilization of political conditions in the Republic.

Celestin Sardelic concluded: There are four fundamental directions of the activity of the Croatian LC in the strategy of social reform, which have decisive importance for the development of stable interethnic relations; for the political stability of Croatia and Yugoslavia; for the development and affirmation of individual, social, and national freedoms; and for the equality and affirmation of all nations and nationalities: the market economy, the state's rule of law, federation based on equality and a pluralist democracy.

The first discussions expressed support for the introductory report and stressed that the sensitivity of the national question and interethnic relations require that they be constantly monitored while all the phenomena which could undermine the position of any nation in Yugoslavia should be dealt with. [passage omitted]

According to Dusan Dragosavac, ideas by individual nationalists offering real solutions on behalf of a mother nation stimulate national divisions, create chaos and lead the country backwards. He also commented on the recent practice of counting victims of fascism, which is placed exclusively in a national or even religious context, inciting chauvinism. The most damaging policy these days, Dragosavac stressed, is the one which believes that slandering Croats does not harm Serbs, and vice versa. [passage omitted]

Dragan Drazic said that interethnic relations in Lika, where 42,000 Serbs, 40,000 Croats, 7,000 Yugoslavs, and other Yugoslav nations live, are good. Communists in Lika are striving for a consistent realization of the LC program orientations and to energetically halt arguments among leaders. At the same time, Lika Communists condemn attempts to introduce a multiparty system and attacks on Josip Broz Tito and the Yugoslav People's Army.

Luka Miletic, President of the Zagreb LC City Committee, expressed the conviction that Zagreb's public and communists expect today's session and the forthcoming LC session to provide answers to some current political trends which are introducing new practices into national and interethnic relations in our country. [passage omitted]

According to Miletic, one of the decisive issues which needs to be stressed is the political stability of the SR of Croatia and atempts to destabilize it, primarily at the level of intranational relations. Here, he said, I refer to the realization of some of the memorandum's program objectives which are very aggressively made public through the public information media in Serbia: about the undermined position of Serbs in Croatia, the tendency to genocide by Croats, the continuity of the pro-Ustasha orientation of the Croat LC, as far back as its foundation, identification of the Croat spirit with the spirit of the Ustasha ideology, the Inform Bureau-Vatican conspiracy to break up the country, the idea to weaken the SR of Serbia, the Hebrang case, Croat silence, the concept of restoring the Habsburg monarchy seen among the Alpe Adria work community, and so on.

Mirko Knezevic devoted most of his speech to the role of the public information media in the exacerbation of intranational relations. Unfortunately, he said, for a long time in the public information media there have been quite a few articles which incited, directly spoke in favor of, or even provoked intranational intolerance. Knezevic believes that the public information media cannot avoid their own accountability when they engage in publishing inaccurate and malicious information and facts. [passage omitted]

Ivica Racan, member of the LCY CC Presidium, expressed support for the stands in the introductory report, assessing them as providing a good basis for a debate at a forthcoming session of the LCY CC on intranational relations in our country. He stressed that many of the problems we have been facing are not only ours because they exist in many socialist countries. However, according to Ivica Racan, certain conflicts could be solved through the system's institutions. In conclusion, Racan said that preparations for the LCY CC Plenum, which will be held 16-17 June, will not be carried out well unless people make efforts in their own environments to eliminate certain conflicts.

Concluding the discussion in which 21 people took part, Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croat LC CC, stressed that today's debate is a good foundation for the forthcoming meeting of the LCY, as well as for putting into operation the program activities of the Croat LC in the area of national relations.

Recalling Tito's approach to the national question, Stojcevic stressed that Josip Broz [Tito] approached this problem comprehensively with a basic thesis that the national question of any nation should not be dealt with in isolation.

The LC, Stojcevic stressed, should not allow any divisions on the national basis, or examples of national intolerance. Rather, it should develop a strategic orientation toward this problem of our multinational community. The president of the Croat LC CC Presidium also commented on the strong presence of Serbian nationalism in recent times which, according to him, is very aggressive, undermines the heritage of our revolution and socialist project, and is directly turned toward the Serbian people. At the same time it also provides a strong incitement to other nationalisms, and to Croatian as well, which is now emerging with its full aggression and arrogance. A battle against the onslaught of nationalism, Stojecevic stressed, is primarily the responsibility of communists. Unfortunately, the proponents of nationalistic awareness are much more aggressive than our struggle against them and the battle cannot be won unless it is conducted with supported arguments, publicly and democratically in all environments. That is why, Stojcevic believes, members of the Croat LC CC must have a legitimate right to fight against any nationalism because they are all equally dangerous.

Serbian Communists in the Croat LC, Stojcevic stressed, must oppose the thesis which identifies Croats with the Ustashas and a people of genocide tendencies, because this justifies Serbian nationalism. A struggle against nationalism demands true and comprehensive equality. Eyes should not be closed to these phenomena, nor should the situation be idealized. There is no scheme to solve national problems, rather, life imposes solutions and communists are required to implement in practice the stands they have agreed. [passage omitted]

Continuing their work, the Croat LC CC members held a secret vote and from three proposed candidates elected two for candidate member of the LCY CC Presidium from Croatia, since Dr Stipe Suvar was relieved of this duty because he is taking up a new position. This was in accordance with the criteria adopted at the 17th LCY CC session.

Candidate members of the LCY CC Presidium are Marko Lolic and Branko Caratan. From 69 members of the Croat LC CC, Lolic received 57 votes, Caratan 35, and the third candidate Enver Sehovic 29 votes. [passage omitted]

Smole Rebuts Milosevic's Statement on Europe

AU2305152489 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 May 89

[Speech by Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, at a conference on "Preparations for Europe in 1992" in Ljubljana on 23 May—recorded]

[Text] One would not expect that the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia would descend to the level of slanders by asserting that in

Slovenia we divide the peoples of Yugoslavia between those who are cultured and those who are not. Such a slander may result in spoiling the relations between our peoples and nationalities.

If, in his speech in Novi Sad, Comrade Slobodan Milosevic wanted, at least in part, to deal with the problems of Europe, he could make a constructive contribution to including the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia into modern European currents, but unfortunately he did not choose a constructive contribution but rather insinuations. How else could we understand the following words that Comrade Milosevic spoke in Novi Sad and that POLITIKA has carried under the headline: Anti Democratic Occurrences in Slovenia?

I quote: [Smole reads the following paragraph in Serbo-Croatian] There is no civilized country in which such behavior could be described as democratic. Such primitive, vengeful aggressiveness is particularly incompatible with the culture of contemporary Europe which they want to join. In fact, these occurrences of fascistoid outpourings of irrational hatred only indicate the depth of the crisis. End quotation.

I do not want to consent to the level from which Comrade Slobodan Milosevic attacks the events in Slovenia. I resolutely reject insinuations and insults. I wish to conclude by stating that Milosevic's crude attack about certain circles in Slovenia signifies destruction, to put it mildly.

If Comrade Milosevic thinks that by announcing a proper crusade against Slovenia he contributes to the settlement of affairs in our common Yugoslavia and to the opening of the roads to Europe, he is deeply mistaken.

Branko Mikulic Interviewed on Kecmanovic Case

*LD2205161389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1424 GMT 22 May 89*

[Text] Sarajevo, May 22 (TANJUG)—Former Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic, in an interview to the Sarajevo newspaper OSLOBODJENJE, stressed that the information he had been receiving from the State Security Service on Nenad Kecmanovic had been intended for "personal information" only.

Dr Kecmanovic was a candidate of the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina for member of the Yugoslav State Presidency, but he gave up after charges from the republic that he had been having contacts with foreign intelligence agents.

Mikulic told OSLOBODJENJE that he had no need to pass the information on Kecmanovic on to organs in Bosnia-Hercegovina because other persons in these organs had recieved such information from the republican State Security Service.

None of the persons who had been receiving the State Security Service's reports on Kecmanovic was allowed to open this case on his own [word indistinct] because this is against the rules, Mikulic told the Sarajevo newspaper.

He said he believed that the question of Kecmanovic would not have been raised at all if it did not involve a person put forward as member of the collective head of state, a body in supreme command of the armed forces and responsible for the protection of the constitutional order.

This is precisely why the State Security Service felt itself responsible to make public the information in its possession, he said.

In connection with the affair, the public has been expecting to be told clearly whether Kecmanovic is a spy or whether the whole thing is a political concoction.

In the aftermath, the only thing that is clear is that Kecmanovic's name will not be on the list of seven republican candidates for membership of the collective head of state.

The Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina warns that this was not a mock trial and that Kecmanovic is no spy, while the federal and republican commissions in control of the work of the Security Service insists that he "nevertheless overstepped the usual limits of security culture which must be observed by a member of the collective State Presidency.

It is still unclear who, in what capacity, and for what purposes has been receiving State Security Service reports on Kecmanovic which, according to Mikulic, began to be issued in 1981.

In the interview with OSLOBODJENJE, Mikulic admitted that while he was prime minister he received the most State Security Service reports on Kecmanovic but was not invited for any consultations in that connection.

Kecmanovic File 'Politically Used,' 'Abused'

*AU2405122689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
19 May 89 p 1*

[Bozidar Andrejic commentary: "Kecmanovic—Back to the Beginning"]

[Text] The situation we are in being what it is, all this in fact may not be paradoxical at all: Even after the two assembly commissions for the control of the work of the State Security Services (one commission is federal and one from Bosnia-Hercegovina) had finished their work and issued announcements, the main problem in the "Kecmanovic case" seems not even to have been touched. Moreover, everything has returned to the beginning. True, this could have been expected, because the legal limitation to the powers of the two commissions is such that they could establish only that the republican, that is, federal state Security Services had worked according to regulations. They did not discuss how the result of their work has been politically used or perhaps abused.

There is nevertheless a paradox and it does not only lie in the fact that the "federal" commission has no authority over the work of the "republican" State Security Service, so that the commissions had to work separately although "federal" and "republican" security facts are intertwined.

The very idea of investigating the work of these services could be compared with a situation when after an attempted murder one does not investigate the suspect or witnesses, but only the gunsmith who made the gun with which the attempt was made, and one does not care whether what was involved was malice aforethought or self-defense.

In this situation, after more than a month of the unpleasant prolongation of a very important case, at least for the time being, answers to at least three key questions are missing completely: Has someone abused the findings of the State Security Service and who was it? Is Kecmanovic really a spy and if he is can that be proved? And finally, if the law prevents commissions of the highest organs of authority (and self-management) from answering these questions, who is it who must answer them?

There is at least one good thing—the commissions' reports have taken the responsibility off the "gunsmith" from the example above (the State Security Service). For the time being this is the only result of this hurried work of the commissions. It is again the turn of those people who had the opportunity to decide about the political use of the police file, that is, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and, of course, the republican Assembly.

It is even more important to ask these bodies such questions because not only are they authorized by the "system" to provide answers to them, but even more because it was within this triangle that such a political interpretation of this file originated, whatever the file may have looked like.

However, in these times of so-called democratization and considering the importance of the entire case, one would also have to know "what the file looks like."

Berberovic's Remarks on Kecmanovic Criticized

LD2205213289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1611 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Sarajevo, May 22 (TANJUG)—Journalist Communists of the information-political programme of Sarajevo Television today demanded accountability of member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Muhamed Berberovic for the recent non-argumented attack on Sarajevo Television and some other republican mass media, when he said that "in the Kecmanovic affair they shaped public opinion on Kecmanovic's platform".

The affair broke out in late April when, in the final (?stage) of the procedure for electing the republic's delegate to the Yugoslav state Presidency, the main contender, the dean of the Sarajevo University Dr Nenad Kecmanovic, said he was withdrawing his candidacy as the republican Security Service established that he had contacts with foreign intilligence agents.

Berberovic's accusation can only be viewed as an attempt to intimidate the press, stop the democratic processes and reinstate the old attitude towards them, the Sarajevo Television journalists said. This has not only harmed the information-political programme of Sarajevo Television, but the entire democrization process in the republic.

The journalists said that as far as the Kecmanovic affair is concerned, their programme carried all official statements and attitudes, reporting objectively from all forms dealing with the affair. With the exception of two appearances by Dr Kecmanovic, it had no authorship commentaries or comments on the occasion of the case. [sentence as received]

Kucan Gives Address at Ljubljana Award Ceremony

LD2305084589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 May (TANJUG)—The present model and practice of socialism should be redefined. Instead of clinging to the status quo we should set out to fight dogmatism, parasitism, bureaucracy, and ideological delusions. We want a higher quality of living, economic success, social efficiency, political democracy, a state under the rule of law, a rich society, rich in socialism, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium, stressed at a ceremony in Ljubljana at which distinguished Slovene journalists received the "Tomsic Award" from the Slovene Journalists Federation.

Noting that we are seeking answers to what kind of socialism and what kind of Yugoslavia we want, Kucan said that socialism can no longer be perceived as a political guise of authority over a society of poverty nor as a redistribution of that poverty. Such a socialism cannot succeed as a social project for it is a shallow project of narrow, limited, and consciously reduced human needs and freedoms, the limits of which are determined by the state and the political party.

The socialism of the future, Kucan stressed, must be based on a human scale, on comprehensive contributions by each man and each social element in the economic, political, and work sphere, the disalienation of man and the quality of his work and life. Only such socialism can be atuned to man on whose behalf we Slovene Communists speak, Kucan said, adding that such socialism breaks away consciously with real socialism and liberal capitalism.

We are not giving up socialism, but bureaucratic despotism in political, social and economic life, Kucan stressed. The Slovene LC is in favor of a social perspective which respects human rights and liberties, which liberates initiative, competitivness, personal freedom, creativity, innovation, and enterprise.

Slovene Communists and their orientation have allies both in Slovenia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia, although they are presently suppressed by noises made at meetings which try to resolve the situation in their way and threaten everyone whose views differ. The Slovene LC has allies, Kucan said, because such an orientation promises a better life. Only the orientation can be the main force which unites the multinational Yugoslav community, a more powerful and convincing force than ideology, ethnic similarity, army, and the party, Kucan said. He went on to stress that this is also the answer to the question what kind of Yugoslavia and Slovenia the Slovene LC wants.

For the Slovene Communists and their aspirations, the concept which was presented in the recently published "May'89 Declaration" is too narrow because it leaves space neither for renewed democratic socialism nor for a democratic federative socialist Yugoslavia which is a common, free and voluntary state of its nations and nationalities and its socialist republics.

The concept of Yugoslavia in the Declaration forces us Slovenes to give up the state which we, together with others, set up and which we joined with our own free will. This is our Yugoslavia, in which we have the right and responsibility to say what shape it should take in the future.

According to Kucan, this comprises Kosovo and all main state functions of Yugoslavia, including foreign policy and defense. However, he continued, we cannot decide by majority vote about joint life and joint future because no decision regarding this can be imposed on anyone. Temporary power relations cannot decide the basic issues of joint life, since this would not be the SFRY, regardless of what one thinks about it. Kucan said that no one has the right to deny equality to others.

Having stressed the task of fighting for a modern, democratic Yugoslavia as a community of free citizens and equal nations and nationalties—on which the Socialist Alliance should formulate a joint platform—Kucan went on to say that everything else, including even collecting signatures on that piece of paper, is, to put it mildly, political adventurism.

Kucan went on to speak about the issue of sovereignty. He stressed that it was written into the first postwar constitution that the federation's task is to safeguard and defend sovereign rights of the republics. This reasoning was not respected when the often repeated proposal by the top bodies of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia for pardoning the four tried by the Ljubljana military court, despite the fact that the proposals were a reflection of the mood of the majority of the population in Slovenia, Kucan said.

Following its own judgement the SFRY Presidency decided to act differently, disregarding the fact that the proposal for a pardon by Slovene Assembly and Presidency—and the final decision on this is within the purview of the SFRY Presidency—carries the same political weight as the pardon itself. According to Kucan, if it had formally been within the competence of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the pardon would already have been granted.

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